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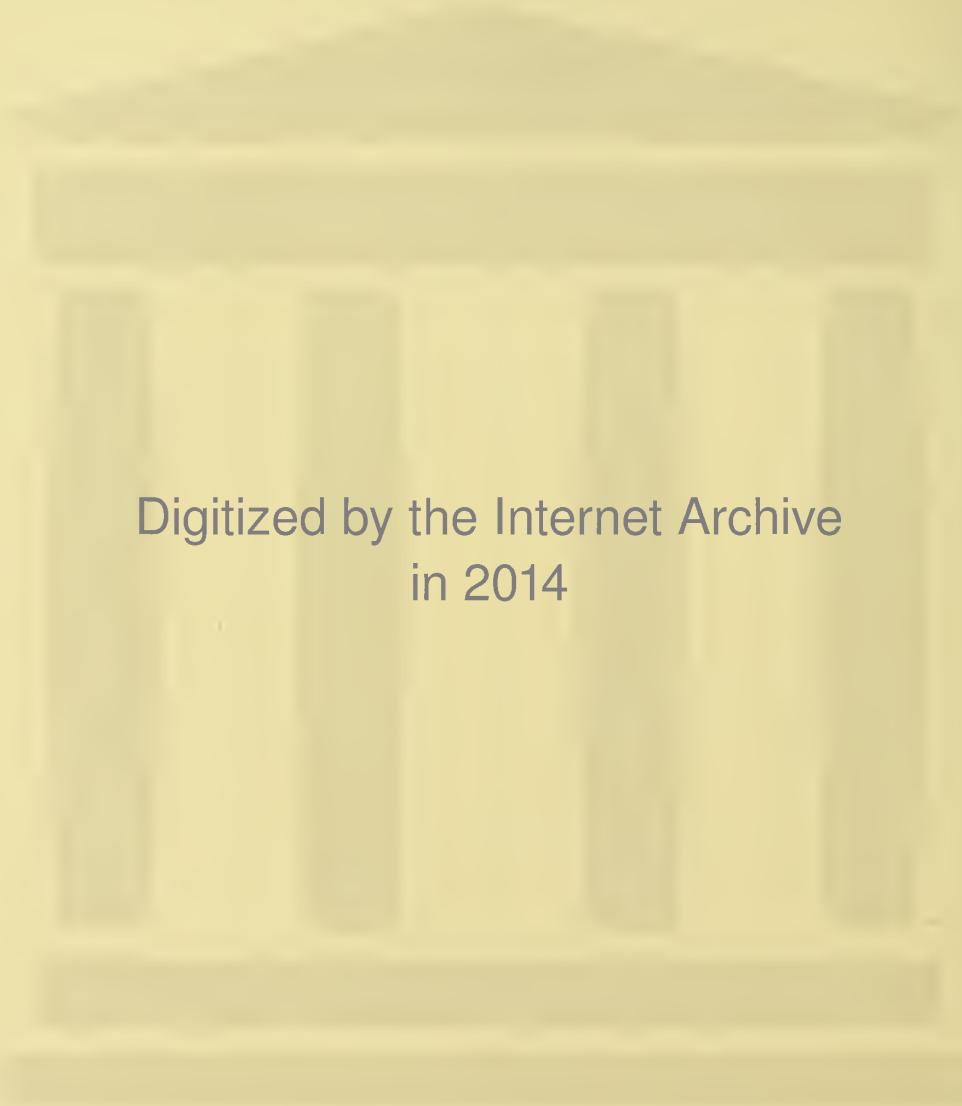
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MILTON AND JACOB BÖHME

BY

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A. B. Cornell University, 1903

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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

ENTITLED

Margaret A. Bailey
John Milton and Jacob Boehme

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

In Charge of Major Work

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Head of Department

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on
Final Examination

Preface

Through a study of the part played by Gottfried Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie in Goethe's intellectual life my interest in mysticism and the whole neoplatonic movement was aroused. I found that in the mysticism of Goethe I was considering only one slight manifestation of a tremendous world power that reaches far into all the spiritual realms open to the mind and heart of man. The conclusion seemed forced upon me however that the grave importance of the relation of the neoplatonic movement to literature has been systematically overlooked in our literary histories, both English and German. Particularly has it seemes strange that a mystic with such ardent admirers and so pronounced a following as Jacob Böhme had had from the time of the first appearance of his writings down to the new edition that is even now being published in Chicago, that such a man should have had practically no accredited influence on the literary life that mirrored the great spiritual movements rising, apparently, about the time of Böhme's activity.

The suggestion of a relationship between Milton and Böhme was made by Dr. Julius Goebel. To his unfailing inspiration and guidance I owe what results this paper may have to show. The more deeply I have worked into the subject, the more clearly have I felt the importance of Böhme's influence in England for the whole literary history of neoplatonism, and the more firmly am I convinced that so far ~~as~~ I have been able to treat only the most purely superficial aspects of the subject. It seems not too bold a statement to make, that we have here a most remarkable instance of an international and

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intellectual relationship, an eminently worthy subject for the study of comparative literature.

The method I have tried to follow has little in common with the old method of careful and detailed comparison of the works of each author for possible resemblances; it is rather an attempt to lay hold of the spirit of the time that produced natures so sympathetic and complementary as those of the simple, uneducated Görlitz shoemaker and the cultured man of the world, friend of a rising republic. This method may best be characterized in the words of Dilthey. "It is the comparative method," he says, "through which the positive, the historical, the distinctly individual, in short, the individuation itself becomes the object of scientific research. Even the scientific determination of the single historical event can be completed only through the method of comparison on the basis of universal history. One phenomenon explains another; taken all together all phenomena explain each individual. Since the far-reaching results arrived at by Winkelmann, Schiller and the romanticists this method has continually gained in fruitfulness. It is a scientific procedure that was developed from the comparative methods of philology and then transferred to the study of mythology. It follows logically that every systematic mental science must, in the course of its development, sooner or later arrive at dependence upon this same comparative method."

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I THE SECTS

Of the three factors uniting to bring about the sixteenth century reformation, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had developed only one in England. After King John paid homage to Pope Innocent III as his liege lord, parliamentary legislation had been directed toward separating England from Rome. The natural opposition to the Pope in England was along lines mainly political. On the continent likewise the idea of an independent state had been taking definite form since the fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty; it was strengthened by the opposition to the popes at Avignon; while the great councils of the fifteenth century fostered the growing desire for national churches. However, in England alone was the shaking off of the foreign yoke and the subordination of church to state at all complete. This was Henry VIII's great reformation.

But England had had no Meister Eckhard, no Tauler, no Thomas à Kempis, no "Teutsche Theologie", with their sincere and heart-searching mystical teachings preparing the hearts of the people for a change in their pious devotions from catholic to evangelical. Luther had arisen, a leader of his people, his whole personality steeped in the devout and popular elements of German mysticism. In England, again, there had been no great broadening of humanistic culture. Erasmus had taught there, it is true; but his influence hardly extended beyond the nobility. Thomas More had expounded in his Utopia (1576) an ideal of a state in which ecclesiastical hierarchy was unknown. But he finished his career as a powerful opponent

of the reformation, and without founding any school of humanism. Henry VIII's church had merely substituted, upon the established beliefs and ceremonies, a royal for a papal head; the result of a royal act, not of a development in which the people had any great share. The bishops retained their old power in a system subjected to the growing dangers of multiplication of benefices and lack of interest on the part of a hireling clergy. The new anglican church was nationally separate, yet related to a reformed church on the continent, and reformed, yet retaining a hierarchical system. An opposition to its outer form might come as a further development of the political forces that helped to produce it; upon its relation to the reformed churches of other lands must depend its inner development.

In Germany the reformation was not carried to its promised conclusion until in certain phases of Pietism it finally attained to the ideals for which Luther had striven.* The subjectivity represented by mysticism meant freedom of the individual; the benevolent fraternity of humanism meant a free church of voluntary membership.² But Luther's ideal of "every man his own judge" was supplanted by his scholastic notion of the absolute depravity of man resultant upon his fall; his thought of the universal priesthood of man could not hold out against his inherited feeling of the necessity of a state church to root out heresy. With the development of the Lutheran creed and dogma freedom was more and more lost sight of, until speedily a church of fixed forms and beliefs had grown up. The letter-bound Lutheran orthodoxy represented a victory of one of the essential elements of

* Weingarten: Die Revolutionskirchen Englands. 442.

² Keller: Geistige Grundlagen der Freimaurerei. 72.

religions over the other, the victory over the ever-changing, personal, mystical element of the permanent, unchanging, traditional element, the conservative force binding the ages together and making possible one humanity. A state church is bound to disregard the fact that just so long as these two elements are harmoniously combined, as long as organized religion resists its weakening tendency to settle into a "sacred" form or system, and as long as the "divinely illuminated escape the exaltation of their own experience and the ignoring of the gains of the race in the light of master revelations of the past, just so long will religion be ideal and powerful. This lack of balance between the two elements has caused the established church throughout the ages to denounce the mystics, whom they have branded as heretics, with varying names as time went on, as Simonites, Gnostics, New Prophets, Anabaptists, Paracelsians, Böhmins, Rosicrucians, Pietists, Separatists, Quakers, Enthusiasts, fanatics!

The German reformation was not however confined to the work of Luther, Melanchthon and the creed-makers. The lack of incentive toward development of any true devout spiritual life under the strict Lutheran dogma and the consequent need of a new reformation was keenly felt by other thinkers of the time* likewise deeply imbued with the leavening power of a belief in the Divine Presence. They were more truly a result of that type of acute and intense religion, not necessarily confined, even, to Christianity, which puts emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God or direct and intimate consciousness of Divine inner light.

The growth of this mystical side of religion outside of the church had now every opportunity to go to its undesirable extremes. It bore rapid fruit in the development of new religious forms or

* Ritschl: Geschichte des Pietismus I 80.

communities along with and also even within the Lutheran church. The freedom that Luther had demanded in the spiritual realm Karlstadt and Münzer and their followers were demanding in the social and political realm. Karlstadt rejected the sacraments, teaching that faith itself is a power of God through which he speaks directly to the soul; by realizing itself the soul knows God. Münzer was a devout student of Tauler, also deeply affected by the prevailing belief in the immediately approaching millennium. Other leaders became prominent. The movement in its spread from southern through northern Germany to Holland showed alternately, depending upon its successes or its sufferings under the horrible persecutions that arose, its enthusiastic, fanatical or its quietistic character.

We cannot here go into the history of the extravagances and final destruction of many Anabaptists, as the followers of these men were generally called from their insistence upon adult rather than infant baptism. Failing as a social and political force, the movement lived on as a form of religious belief. Founded wholly on inspiration, naturally many sects arose. Once started, inspiration could not be controlled! In the main however, according to one of their orthodox opponents*, the various sects agreed to the following doctrines: they rely upon inner illumination, believing that God dwells bodily within them; reject the preaching of the word of God and disregard the final authority of the scriptures; believe in "calmest tranquillity" and ecstasy, in the manifestation of God in dreams and visions and in nature; reject the doctrine of the Trinity, the work of the Holy Ghost in men through the sacraments, the need of an atonement through Christ; and teach the three-fold nature of man, body, soul and spirit and that God is the original cause of evil.

*Colberg: Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum I 332-34.

The believers in these doctrines formed sects or communities and were named according to their leaders or the place in which they lived. Prevented from any enduring form of organization by their very belief, they dwindled away or became merged with other groups holding similar views. Persecuted by the orthodox church, they wandered from place to place. We may expect to come across their teachings in Holland and in England.

The spirit of mystical theology we find in the works of Johann Arndt (1555-1621). This man enjoyed the unusual reputation of completing the work of Luther and of being a heretic as well. From his pastorate in Badeborn in Anhalt he was dismissed, 1590, for objecting to Calvinistic innovations in the Lutheran church; 1618 he was denounced as a heretic by Lutheran church officials.* His work on "true Christianity"² was a popular religious treatise like Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ", upon which, with the addition of the sermons of Tauler and the "Teutsche Theologie", it is founded. Arndt makes no pretence of formulating a system of theological doctrine; he hoped merely to give rules for active, genuine Christian life at a time when the Lutheran church was overburdened with the letter rather than the spirit of the law. The highest good of life is a feeling of the beauty of God. There are three steps to its attainment: repentance, enlightenment, union with God through love. True freedom results from an utter denial of self, the giving up of will and all desire. The preached and written word of God has authority but no more than faith, the outgrowth of the inborn "inner light."

In other writings of the time even more than in those of Arndt do we find expressed the general feeling of the age, widespread among Protestant theologians and men of culture and education, that the

*Arnold: Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie, II 115.

² Book I pub. 1605; this with three others, 1610.

Protestant reformation had failed.* Why is it, they asked, if Protestantism is progressing toward the goal set for it by its devout founders, why is it that men are becoming less devout, less moral in public and private life, less cultured even? Why is it, that instead of one pope there have arisen in Germany many small popes? These men complained of a theology concerned mainly with doctrinal controversy, of a literature not remotely comparable to that of Luther's time, of the need, in fact, of a thorough reformation of all relations in state, church and society. According to the "Fama Fraternitatis",² the only hope for improvement was in the combined activity of closely united like-minded men.³ This strange mystical writing, half fairy story, half sermon, was absolutely congenial to the spirit of this anxious, fearful yet hopeful time; it was full of ideas of fraternity and reform, of hopes for a greater unity among men, of a higher outlook to relieve the oppressed spirit, and best of all, hopes for the near future. "Das Jahrhundert ist erschienen, in welchem man das, was man vor Zeiten nur geahnt hat, endlich einmal aussprechen muss, wenn die Welt die aus dem Kelche des Gifts und Schlummers empfangene Völlerei ausgeschlafen haben und der neu aufgehenden Sonne mit eröffnetem Herzen, entblösstem Haupte und nackten Füssen fröhlich und freudig entgegen gehen wird."⁴ The "Confessio fraternitatis R.C. ad eruditos Europae", 1615, continues the story and style of the Christian Rosencreutz of the first writing, supposed founder of the order, and gives the rules and history of the

*Opel: Valentin Weigel 283.

²Allgemeine und General Reformation des gantzen weiten Welt. Neben der Fama Fraternitatis, dess Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreuzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben. 1614.

³Opel 285.

⁴Opel 288.

society and its plans for the general reformation of church and state. These men believe in the possibility of producing wealth by means of the philosopher's stone, but they scorn such work in the light of their real task of redeeming mankind through true religion. The whole Rosicrucian story is important as showing the feeling of the time, a decided interest in natural philosophy, the beginnings of science, along with a strong desire for religious freedom and a true inner spiritual life.

A flood of Rosicrucian writings followed the "Fama" and the "Confessio" and immediately the name "Rosenkreuzer" was assumed by a host of pretended alchemists and swindlers of the time who were taking advantage of the general interest in alchemy and even belief in magic which accompanied the early study of the natural sciences. The third and last of the original Rosicrucian documents was the "Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreutz", 1616. This was written by Johann Valentin Andreae as early as 1602 or 1603 and helps to substantiate the now undoubted fact of Andreae's authorship^{*} of the anonymous "Fama" and "Confessio". It may also have been circulated in manuscript before 1616, as was the "Fama" as early as 1610.² The spreading of their writings in manuscript was particularly customary with the mystics and theosophical writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³ The "Hochzeit" is more distinctly satirical than the other two; concerning it Andreae said later that he had been carrying on "ein Spiel mit den Abenteuerlichkeiten seiner Zeit."⁴

* Begemann: Monatsheft der Comenius Gesellschaft VIII 165, Opel 288, Arnold I 1118, Hauck: Rosenkreuzer.

² Schneider: Die Freimaurerei 87.

³ Schneider 96.

⁴ Opel 289.

Possibly it was published only after the effects of the other two had been seen. The frequent use of the word "curiosus" marks the fad of the time, the pompous delving into secret and magical arts. The "Hochzeit" really warns against the gold-making promises of alchemy and the magical teachings that promise a universal panacea.* When Andreae became aware that his joke was being taken seriously, that the whole world was hunting for this non-existent secret order behind which all sorts of impostors were hiding, he showed the real underlying serious import of the whole Rosicrucian idea, of which the "Hochzeit" had been only a too youthful expression, in his "Invitatio ad fraternitatem Christi ad amoris candidatos", 1617. This invitation to all high-minded men to form a Christian society or brotherhood was hindered from a satisfactory acceptance by the Thirty Years' War.

Andreae (1586-1654) was undoubtedly one of the important men of the seventeenth century. He might have been noted alone as traveler, linguist, educator, theologian or author. In his many friendships his many-sided spirit might be traced; to his inner circle he admitted not only such men as Arndt and Bernegger, Leibniz and Comenius, but men of high rank and members of humble guilds as well. His deep piety and moral earnestness show when, in his "Menippus", 1617, he holds the mirror up to the abuses of his time, or when, in his "Reipublicae christianopolitanae descriptio" 1619, dedicated to Johann Arndt, he expresses his true "Rosiocrucian" plan in the ideal Christian state and suggestion of a world reform, or when he attempts to reform the church along lines of practical devotion and obedience to the inner light. Although a true Lutheran, Andreae was deeply impressed with the stern morality of the Calvinists, while utterly repudiating their teaching of predestination. In general he favored

* Hauck: Rosenkreuzer.

sects wherever their teachings were better than those of his own church.

Another supporter of mystical Christianity against the dead religious life of his time became known in Valentin Weigel (1533-1588) and particularly after his writings were published and spread broadcast in 1612. Weigel had studied platonian philosophy, in the neo-platonic interpretation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, also the writings of Dionysius, Erigena and Paracelsus. A twofold philosophy seems expressed in his system: all things, from God the eternal source, may be learned either through ardent study of the "book of nature," or through the light of faith in a "still sabbath," that is, in the absolute tranquillity of soul in which God speaks to men. A union of these two sources of wisdom discloses all secrets. Since man is the microcosm, a knowledge of self is the key to the knowledge of the world. The reality of all knowledge is in the observer or subject; the object is only the exciting cause of knowledge. But God is both subject and object, and since there is, inborn within us all, the spirit or "inner light" from Him, we can know Him and all things as well. He taught that sin is any attempt to accomplish anything without God; that ceremonies, good perhaps as reminders of God, are in themselves useless. He believed in the universal priesthood of man, and that God's prophets are simple people, not the highly educated. False prophets are those who preach the righteousness of war, or who denounce as heretics any with beliefs differing from their own. By no means has church or state any right to persecute for conscience' sake. It was on account of his agreement with these unorthodox views that Arndt was called a "Weigelianer" and driven from his church. The

similarity of Weigel's teachings and those of the Anabaptists is striking; they practiced his theoretical demands for moral and political reform.

The highest form of this mystical religious thought, the form in which it gave most to the Christianity and philosophy of modern times, was reached in the writings of a simple, uneducated working-man, Jacob Böhme. In his own day he was called by a few advanced thinkers "the German philosopher", and rightly, for "from how many different standpoints after him the totality of things was viewed and whatever principles of knowledge were discovered, he had indicated them one and all."^{*} Jacob Böhme was born in 1575 near the Bohemian frontier, at Alt-Seidenberg near Görlitz, son of poor peasants. He had a little instruction in reading, writing, and religion at the village school. He was a quiet, thoughtful child, living in imagination in a world of German goblins and fairies. Wonderful visions came to him, that to his excited fancy took the form of external occurrences, such as his experience, during his apprenticeship to a shoemaker, of a stranger who prophesied his future greatness and suffering. Dismissed on account of his gentle yet too insistent piety, he finished his training under various masters. On his wanderings he observed with sadness the enmity existing between churches and even within the church itself. He read religious and astrological books, works by Paracelsus and Weigel among others, and prayed ardently for an indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In 1599 he became master-shoemaker and married in Görlitz. He died in 1624.

At critical times in history, or times of greatness in science, art and moral actions, forces that are working generally among men break forth powerfully and suddenly in the case of individuals.

The form and content of the experience is largely dependent upon the

*Carriere: Die philosophische Weltanschauung der reformationzeit, I 310.

character of the individual, yet so opposed is it to the usual experience of his ordinary life, that he is almost forced to regard it objectively, as if it were happening to another; it bursts without reflection from the depths of the soul and seems like a gift from on high. Such enthusiasm of knowledge or creation appearing suddenly, especially to an utterly unprepared person, results in a condition often passing for ecstasy;* it utterly overwhelms the body as Plotinus explains, to whom the experience came as it did to St. Paul and many an Indian philosopher. Such insight into nature and God came likewise to Böhme. After the third time he began to write "Die Morgenröthe im Aufgang", simply for himself, as a memorial. Once known in manuscript, under the name "Aurora" given to it by a friend, this book raised bitterest opposition among the clergy; at the same time it won friends among scientists and philosophers who encouraged him to continue writing. With training in self-expression and working under conditions of encouragement instead of continued persecution, Böhme might have been the very man fitted to finish Luther's half-done work of Church-reformation and bring about a reconciliation between science and faith, such as we are still lacking in our day.

In his later works comes out the clearer statement of Böhme's system. The prerequisite of all human knowledge is regeneration or being born in God, that is, a consciousness of the "inner light", for an unenlightened soul (Gemüt) may not grasp heavenly thoughts in an earthly receptacle; like comprehends like only.

The fundamental philosophical conception we find contained in Böhme's attempts to harmonize the undeniable claim of Pantheism that God is not to be known out of and apart from nature, but in it, and through it, with the equally undeniable fact of the evident opposi-

* Carriere I 313.

tion in this divine world of good and evil.* He cannot make light of the fact of evil and explain it away as merely negative, as the unavoidable shadow to the light. It is vastly more than that. For him the solution of the problem lies very deep and becomes only possible by looking upon the human soul not as a mode of divine substance, nor as the work of the Creator merely, but rather as absolutely self-existent. In other words, it is to be considered that good and evil, heaven and hell are opposed possibilities within the soul, in relation to which the soul possesses perfect liberty of choice, and full independence from any external influence and from any predetermined inherent condition; for even this is the deep meaning of the word free-will.²

The principle of all things, the divine, unlimited, indivisible existence at the same time both rest and activity, the Godhead, Böhme regards as a Being in whom the contraries good and evil are already contained, yet merely as the possibility of good and evil, not the reality; as an equilibrium of mutually opposed, yet complementary and harmoniously working forces. This Godhead is the Abyss out of which all being issues; it is the primordial condition of all being and therefore without substance, nature or qualities; the eternal silence, the All and the No-thing; neither darkness nor light; manifest to none, not even to Himself. In his desire for self-expression, manifestation, this self-comprehensive, ever self-creating unity includes within itself the Trinity. The desire of love produces the Son and the expression of this love is the Holy Spirit. Yet we must not consider the Trinity in the light of a temporal process; Böhme repeatedly warns us that, on account of human weakness, he must describe as a time-process that which is eternal, and place

*Deussen: Jakob Böhme 28.

²Deussen 33, 34.

side by side things which are really inter-dependent and joined with one another in perfect unity. Thus nature is as eternal as spirit, for without objective reality the subjective or spirit could not prove its own existence; they are inseparable. But nature is contained within or conditioned by the "Wisdom", wherein God mirrors His Being, the world of ideas. Between the Neoplatonic division of the One into subject and object is placed the Christian Trinity. The contrariety upon which the self-manifestation of God depends Böhme takes from the scriptural divine attributes of Love and Wrath. All further development and creation comes from their branching out into the seven throne spirits (Quellgeister or Mütter), the first three of which represent God's wrath and the last three God's Love; while the central fourth constitutes the pivot-point of both worlds, common to the wrath or darkness and to the love or light. There are three principles of life: light, darkness and their union, which is the visible world. A continuous uniting and separating, an eternal attraction and repulsion, an everlasting wrath and love is necessary to life. This is the law of opposites.

The possible good and evil latent in God become actual only when the soul in its primal freedom chooses the one or the other. The soul is not a being different from God, but, on the contrary, is fundamentally the divine substance itself, inasmuch as it brings into reality the possible opposition between good and evil.. Therefore our re-birth and salvation through the Christ within us are but a return to our own primal divine being. Ever-continuing creation is expressed in the human soul through thoughts or imagination; out of these is born will and from will actions. Man as manifestation of God bears the seal of the Trinity in his three-fold nature: his soul from God, his spirit from the stars, his body from the elements. In

his own realm he is the microcosm. Evil is any turning away from God to independence apart from him. It appeared first as pride in the archangel Lucifer, in his selfish desire to be more than others. Man, created as a perfect being, was higher than the angels and greater than the fallen Lucifer, because he was complete. But he lost the inner divine wisdom from his nature by imitating Lucifer in his desire for separateness from his origin, lost therefore his completeness and was separated into the two sexes under the forms of Adam and Eve. Hence marriage is holy, since only through union with his complementary nature can an individual gain his birthright of harmonious completeness.

The relation to his own times comes out most clearly in Böhme's teachings regarding freedom of conscience, preference of Christ's church invisible to churches "made of stone" with their learned but uninspired clergy, and hopes for the near appearance of peace and harmony throughout the whole earth. He did not condemn the sacraments, but considered them simply outward symbols of the inner Christ, helpful according to the measure of our faith. Government is necessary until all men return to full freedom in God. But war is an abomination.

The German church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the political plaything of princes, could offer no place for the development of an institution fitted to this group of thinkers and their ideas, centered about freedom as they were. Naturally sects must arise; also they must be persecuted and driven out, as were the Anabaptists. Divisions must arise within the church itself, as when in 1571 one hundred and eleven preachers were at one time turned out by Kurfürst August of Saxony,* or when later the Lutherans even united

*Geschichte der europäischen staaten: Sachsen II 48.

with the Catholics to drive the Calvinists from the same territory,* or when the conscience of the contra reformation by the year 1600 had caused Austria and Bohemia to drive out thousands of their most industrious and law-abiding citizens.

A place of refuge for these fugitives was open in Holland. Even under the domination of the Spanish inquisition, the Dutch leaders had united in a pledge of religious toleration, in 1576.² During this struggle for freedom the Netherlands became the richest land of Europe; her trade and industry controlled the world. Unconditioned freedom of trade and commerce corresponded to the freedom of faith, of science and of the press which made of this one nation a refuge for the persecuted of all lands, and a home in which the forces of mystical religion, expelled from Germany, continued their growth, and from which they found their way to England.³

"England's reformation century is the seventeenth, not the sixteenth. Not until the reign of the Stuarts and in the struggle against it does separation, inward as well as outward, from the church of Rome become the affair of the whole nation, and the history of the English church become the history of spiritual and religious movements."⁴ There in civil war the fundamental forces of religious freedom work out their destiny and the Protestant reformation reaches its final conclusion.

As a continuous movement the English reformation begins back in the reign of Edward VI, when Hooper declined to be consecrated as bishop under Catholic ceremonies. The name Puritan⁵ was first given

* Geschichte der europäischen Staaten: Österreich IV 354.

² Lamprecht: Deutsche Geschichte V 568.

³ Weingarten 445.

⁴ Weingarten 1.

⁵ Fuller: Church history II 540.

to non-conformists early in Elizabeth's reign (1564) to those who continued the opposition to ceremonies and the wearing of church vestments. But as early as 1533 the teachings of the Anabaptists must have been known in England, and among the educated, although then there was no talk of any sect by that name.* In 1535, 1538 and again in 1539 large groups of Anabaptists came from Holland.* During the persecutions under Mary many fugitives found shelter in the reformed countries of the continent. In the churches for foreigners in Zürich, Strassburg, Frankfurt-am-Main ~~and~~^{xx} and other places their creed became strongly modified by Calvinism. From Geneva and Frankfurt-am-Main, Knox returned to Scotland, where, in the foundation of a national church with a rigorous presbyterian constitution, this Calvinistic puritanism early reached the highest point of development. Although many refugees returned to England after the death of Mary, the change came much later there and only after other elements had merged with this original puritan spirit, calvinistically inclined, yet already deeply colored with the mystical opposition to forms and ceremonies.

Puritan conventicles, the first result of Elizabeth's zeal for conformity, developed in time into separatist congregations. Not all puritans, however, left the state church. From petitions to James I² during the first years of his reign it is apparent that the interest of the older English puritans was not, as with the Scotch, mainly in regard to the fundamental question of church constitution, but rather in regard to the right of freedom to preach. A more positive goal of opposition to a state church as such came first through the Brownists.

In Norfolk some Baptists of Holland had found refuge from Alba's cruelty. Robert Browne, chaplain of the duke of Norfolk, spent much time with them and in his restless, passionate nature their ideas

*A. W. Böhme: Acht Bücher von der Reformation der Kirche in England: 151-153.

²Fuller III 215-220

found rapid growth.¹ In "A book which sheweth the Life and Manner of all true Christians", 1582, he defines a state church as Antichrist. The true church he considers a free community of believers. His followers separated from the English church. Though Browne himself returned to it later, his early teachings spread. In 1592 Raleigh spoke of more than twenty thousand Brownists. In 1594 many, preferring exile to imprisonment, took refuge in Holland. In 1598 they published their "Confession of faith of certain English people, living in the Low Countries, exiled." Under their leaders Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth and John Robinson, in England and Holland both, the idea of independency came to full consciousness. This plan of autonomy of each individual congregation, of absolute separation of church and state, they called "the congregational way". It was nicknamed "Independency"², and the Brownists received the new name "Independents", which definitely replaced the older terms Separatists, Non-conformists and Brownists about 1640. In addition to their idea of religious freedom might be noted as important to the course of the English reformation their objection to prescribed forms of prayer because they hinder the work of the Spirit; their insistence upon truth and the life of Christ within us as the highest goal attainable; and their rejection of preachers, learned according to the schools, as pharisees and pretenders.

Early in the history of independency³ a strife arose regarding the position of elders in the church in which the decided spirit of religious democracy was clearly expressed. Combined with their common hope of a continuing and immediate reformation, this opposition to aristocracy was in the near future to form the strongest kind of

¹ Weingarten 20.

² Weingarten 25.

³ 1608; Weingarten 30.

political party from these adherents of the "congregational way." The part then played by the independents in the English revolution, how they were recruited from the older puritan party and even from the presbyterians, while yet engaged in a bitter struggle with both, how under Cromwell's leadership they became the powerful advocates of liberty in every realm, how they all but turned England into a "fifth monarchy"-- the significance of these facts has yet to be discussed. With the death of John Robinson, 1625, the old preacher who blessed the pilgrim fathers as they started on their way to "clear a path for the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the earth," the first period of independency came to an end.

From the beginning of the reign of Charles I to Cromwell's protectorate the form of the church constitution presented the crucial question. In only one point was the episcopacy for which Archbishop Laud was striving different from Catholicism: all power and authority belonged to the crown instead of to the church. Laud was more nearly founding a new papacy than Henry VIII had been. The fundamental thought of presbyterianism was the building up of a kingdom of Christ as a theocracy after the Old Testament model. Its demands of a reformation of church and state according to the word of God alone had in reality no other content than the founding of rulership by a spiritual aristocracy and in fact according to "divine right." The people in general were much more closely bound to presbyterianism, by reason of the influence of the puritans, than they were to episcopacy. But that austere faith, in spite of its strong hold in Scotland, lacked the ideals which were to win the hearts of the English people. These were furnished by Independency.*

That the appearance of the Lord and of his church upon this earth

*Weingarten 71.

was very near at hand had been the general belief of radical mysticism throughout the German reformation. In their banishment the Independents were comforted by the same chiliastic ideas; they believed "that independency is a beginning or at least a near antecedent of Christ's kingdom upon earth."^{*} In England, after their return, Burroughs and Godwin became fiery preachers of such hopes, reiterating their basic principle: "not the head but the heart makes the Christian." During this period independency progressed along two lines. Its purely religious aspect found its development in the so-called sects and its final conclusion in the Quakers; its political aspect, of which the first form is represented by the Leveliers, carried out the principle of individual freedom to the point of its becoming the impelling force of modern political life.²

The idea of a national church was impossible to the adherents of the "congregational way". For them only a visible church as an unorganized complex of individual congregations could have any relation to the invisible church as the spiritual community of all believers, because of their lack of comprehension of historical progress and of knowledge of its justification. This was partly the result of the Calvinistic foundation of the older Puritanism upon which they had built. According to their practice members of a congregation could be only "believers", such believers as could give real evidence of their "election" and true regeneration³. Such a church was obliged however to oppose all church offices and authority in order to destroy human authority in the realm of faith that men might be in subjection only to God. They had no carefully worked out theological

* Baillie: Dissuasive 79.

² Weingarten 75.

³ Baillie: Letters, II 236.

system of dogma in spite of many dogmatic controversies in which they became involved. To see their ~~xxxxxx~~ extreme activity of dogmatic interest one need only look at the hundreds of heresies that are attributed to them. But the one thought that stands out ever more clearly and from which their activity and development must be explained is their ardent desire to understand and grasp fully the religious life in its immediacy, in the depth of its whole being: a demand for inspiration and revelation.

This belief in present inspiration and revelation, this utter dependence upon the inner light was the impelling motive of independency since 1644. In the powerful emotions of the times, in the stormy excitement of civil war, these beliefs called forth a religion of prophecy. "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."^{*} Thus were the times characterized by one who stood in the front rank of its enthusiastic supporters. Under these stormy victories the independents grew ever stronger. They began to call themselves "The kingdom of Christ's saints!" in 1644² and were popularly spoken of as "the saints", particularly after the triumph of Cromwell's army. Thus their faith enlarged to a general feeling of inspiration.

This enlarging, expanding power, this constructive spiritual

* Milton: Areopagitica. Prose works II 94.

² Weingarten 83.

energy comes at times of great stress to certain persons, making them sure of their alliance with a Being who guarantees the ultimate goodness of the world. The influence of unconscious suggestion from social environment is shown in this experience and will be found to have impressed a temporal aspect upon it. The actual mystical views of any given period, the symbolism through which these inward experiences are expressed, the revelations which come to mystical prophets, all bear the mark and color of their particular age.* But the reformatory power and historical significance of these revelations are attained, not through the separated few, but when great groups of people are represented who have the will and the power to take a real part in the development of public life. The proof for the demand of the seventeenth century for inspiration lies in "Pilgrim's Progress". The history of Bunyan's spiritual life is that of all the men of that great period who belonged to the movement that produced Cromwell's "Ironsides". Through bitter struggles of soul these men had come; they must make their calling and election sure. They had visions and heard voices dimly expressive of the great tasks before them in a world-historic epoch, which they interpreted as belonging to a premillennial time.

There is no question but that religion had now reached the stage of enthusiasm. According to the general polemic method of the age every differing opinion was considered not only heretical but also as the foundation of a new sect. After the outbreak of the civil war there were in all places apostles of enthusiasm, "seeing visions and dreaming dreams." "The Independent partie grows but the Anabaptists more and the Antinomians most,"² wrote Baillie. And later: "Most of

*Jones: Studies in Mystical Religion xxxiii.

²Letters, II 117.

the Independent partie are fallen off to Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme and Sociniamisme; the rest are cutted among themselves."* The home of Anabaptism remained in Holland. In 1643 they published their articles of faith and began flooding England with pamphlets demanding liberty of conscience for all sects. At this time they were merely opposed to infant baptism without insisting upon a second or adult submission to the ceremony and were but slightly at variance with the other sects. The missionaries who came over at the beginning of the civil war differed only in name, not in practice, from the "saints". Independency represented and included all the views which animated the enthusiasts and if there were separate meetings for the different so-called sects, it was from some personal choice and not from a necessity arising from differing beliefs.² The name Anabaptism was not infrequently applied as the general term for all enthusiasts. "Many are for total libertie of all religions and writes very plausible treatises for that end."³

In spite of the many eccentric forms that their teachings take, they all hold the one central idea which always accompanies "enthusiasm": the demand for reliance upon the "inner light", the origin of religious life which knows no earthly history. The general talk at the time of a "chaos of sects" rests upon a misunderstanding.⁴ Pagitt mentions fourteen different sects of Anabaptists alone,⁵ in addition to all the other various sects! But he might really include them all under his "Enthusiasts, who pretend they have the gift of prophecy by dreams to which they give much credit."⁶ He even speaks of the

* Letters II 191.

² Weingarten 110.

³ Letters II 211; see also 218, 228,

⁴ Weingarten 109.

⁵ Heresiography 35.

⁶ Same 36.

sect of Divorcers founded by "Mr. Milton, who permits a man to put away his wife upon his own pleasure, without any fault in her, but for any dislike or disparity in nature."^{*} Thomas Edwards refers "the errors, heresies, blasphemies to sixteen heads or sorts of Sectaries."² Yet of that Army, called by the Sectaries, Independent, and of that part of it which truly is so, I do not think there are fifty pure Independents, but higher flown, more seraphicall (as a Chaplain who knows well the state of that Army, expressed it) made up and compounded of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Enthusiasme, Arminianisme, Familiisme, all these errors and more too sometimes meeting in the same persons. . . in one word, the great Religion of that sort of men in the Army, is liberty of conscience and liberty of preaching."³ "In these times (especially since the Rump reigned)" says Baxter, "sprang up five sects at least, whose Doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several shapes and names: 1. The Vanists; 2. The Seekers; 3. The Ranters; 4. The Quakers; 5. The Behmenists."⁴

The fifth sect, the Behmenists, is very important as giving direct evidence of the German origin of part, at least, of the independent propaganda. They form the sect "whose Opinions go much toward the way of the former (Quakers), for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, the Salvation of Heathen as well as Christians, and a dependence on Revelation, etc. But they are fewer in number, and seem to have attained to greater Meekness and conquest of Passions than any of the rest. Their doctrine is to be seen in Jacob Behmen's Books, by him that hath nothing else to do, than to bestow a great deal of

^{*} Heresiography 100.

² Gangraene I 13.

³ Same I 14.

⁴ Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times: I 74 § 119.

time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombasted words do signifie nothing more than beforewas easily known by common familiar terms. The chiefest of these in England are Dr. Pordage and his Family, who live together in community, and pretend to hold visible and sensible communion with angels."¹ In a later discussion of the Nonconformists: "The fourth sort are the Independents. . . . who have opened the door to Anabaptists first, and then to all the other Sects. These Sects are numerous, some tolerable and some intolerable, and being never incorporated with the rest, are not to be reckoned with them. Many of them (the Behmenists, Fifth Monarchy-men, Quakers, and some Anabaptists) are proper Fanaticks, looking too much to Revelation within, instead of the Holy Scripture."² Baxter considers likewise that the "Popish Interest" is advanced "by their secret agency among the sectaries, Seekers, Quakers, Behmenists &c."³ The one friend whom Baxter prized from his early visit to London (about 1643) was Humphrey Blundon "who is since turned an extraordinary Chymist, and got Jacob Behmen his works translated and printed."⁴

The importance of Cromwell's army in moulding opinion as well as a new state-form must be borne in mind. "The Sectarian Soldiers much infected the Countrys, by their Pamphlets and Converse, and the people admiring the con^quering Army, were ready to receive whatsoever they commended to them; and it was the way of the Faction to speak

¹ Baxter I 77 §124.

² Baxter II 387 §285.

³ Baxter I 116 §181.

⁴ Baxter I 11.

what they spake as the Sense of the Army, and to make the People believe that whatsoever Opinion they vented, it was the Army's Opinion."* In this army, "tied together by the point of liberty of conscience," Jacob Böhme's "Morgenrothe im Aufgange"² was zealously read.³

The general relation of the whole English movement to German mysticism is seen from the fact that all the accusations which the orthodox clergy in Germany brought up against Weigel and Böhme were likewise expressed against the English puritans.⁴ In fact, we find among the teachings of the English sects, thoughts which Weigel and Böhme expressed in the selfsame words. In Germany those religious-political separatists would have been called "Weigelianer" and "Rosenkreuzer".⁵

But that which on the continent had been attempted by only a small desparing group and could only peep out of its hiding-place in little German Baptist communities, for fear of dreadful persecution, had become now in its island home the affair of a great and powerful group, a national power. Particularly in the army ruled those tendencies to change England into a nation of free saints. And when the army decided not to keep all civil authority, a parliament was assembled that represented the ruling spirit of the land to no less a degree than any other parliament of the period.⁶ For the representatives of enthusiastic reformation of church and state the great hour had come. Under its greatest leader, Oliver Cromwell, Anabaptism reached its height. As much as this was his deed, however, was

* Baxter I 56 § 80.

² Early title for "Aurora".

³ Weingarten 100.

⁴ Opel 308.

⁵ Opel 307.

⁶ Weingarten 123.

the fact that Anabaptism cased to be a historical power.* In December 1653 Cromwell dissolved the short parliament and became Lord High Protector of England.

There is no question of Cromwell's conviction that at times he had been led by the Divine inner light. He too had welcomed the coming of the Lord's kingdom on earth. With his call to the parliament of saints he was not merely trying an experiment.² He believed in absolute freedom of conscience and faith³ and his ambition was for an England as protector of all protestant nations and for protestantism as the final world-power. Perhaps he became conscious of the dangers of enthusiastic mysticism, of the perils attending an absolute detachment from a historical past. Whatever his whole complex of motives, with the founding of the protectorate came the separation between the supporters of a chiliastic republic and equality, with the consequent loss of power of the former, while the new ideal of liberty went over into political life to stay.

It was not possible, however, that the religious spirit which had ruled with an iron hand the past decades should die out calmly, leaving no trace; the Saints were taken in by the new society of Friends and among them the movement of spiritual enthusiasm came to its logical conclusion. It is striking to note that the oldest documents of the Quakers go back only to the close of the year 1653, and that commensurate to the rapid growth of this sect, the general sect-forming tendency of the time seems to cease. The year 1660 marks the end of the attempts toward a spiritual-enthusiastic reform and the society of Quakers enters upon its second period "with the undertaking of founding within ~~christianitatem~~ Christendom a church of pure practical

* Weingarten 158.

² Weingarten 148.

³ Baillie II 230.

ethics free from dogma, on the foundation of inspiration and unconditioned subjectivity, with the program of unlimited freedom of conscience."¹ The work that on German soil had been carried on by the evangelizing mysticism, before Luther as well as through the faith he founded, on British soil fell to the old Puritans; with the end of the seventeenth century had been completed the great change from Roman Christianity to Germanic piety. In its victory over the hearts of the people the reformation was established.

II THE ACADEMIES

The spread in England of these ideas centered about freedom was not confined to the confessedly religious sects. The fundamental thoughts of independency, the origin and development of which we have been tracing, were closely related to those of the free societies or academies of the seventeenth century. In fact, so nearly identical are the ideals of the sects and of the free societies that at times it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between the two forms of organization. They wrought however toward the same end; "humanism on the one hand and Anabaptism on the other have contributed, in the realms of ethics and human rights, more than the older Protestantism to the formation of the modern world."²

The word "humanism" took its origin in antiquity and meant then the purely human, or the ideal humanity to which mankind should be educated. When in the church of the middle ages the depravity of human nature since Adam became the dominant teaching, the belief in this ideal became officially impossible. Yet the belief lived on and was fostered by a continuous movement of organized activity,

¹ Weingarten 463.

² Ernst Troeltsch: Bedeutung des Protestantism für die Entstehung der modernen Welt. Quoted C. G. XV 265-9.

which leads from the neoplatonic academies and the old-Christian communities, over the mystics and heretics, over the brotherhoods and academies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the societies of more recent times.*

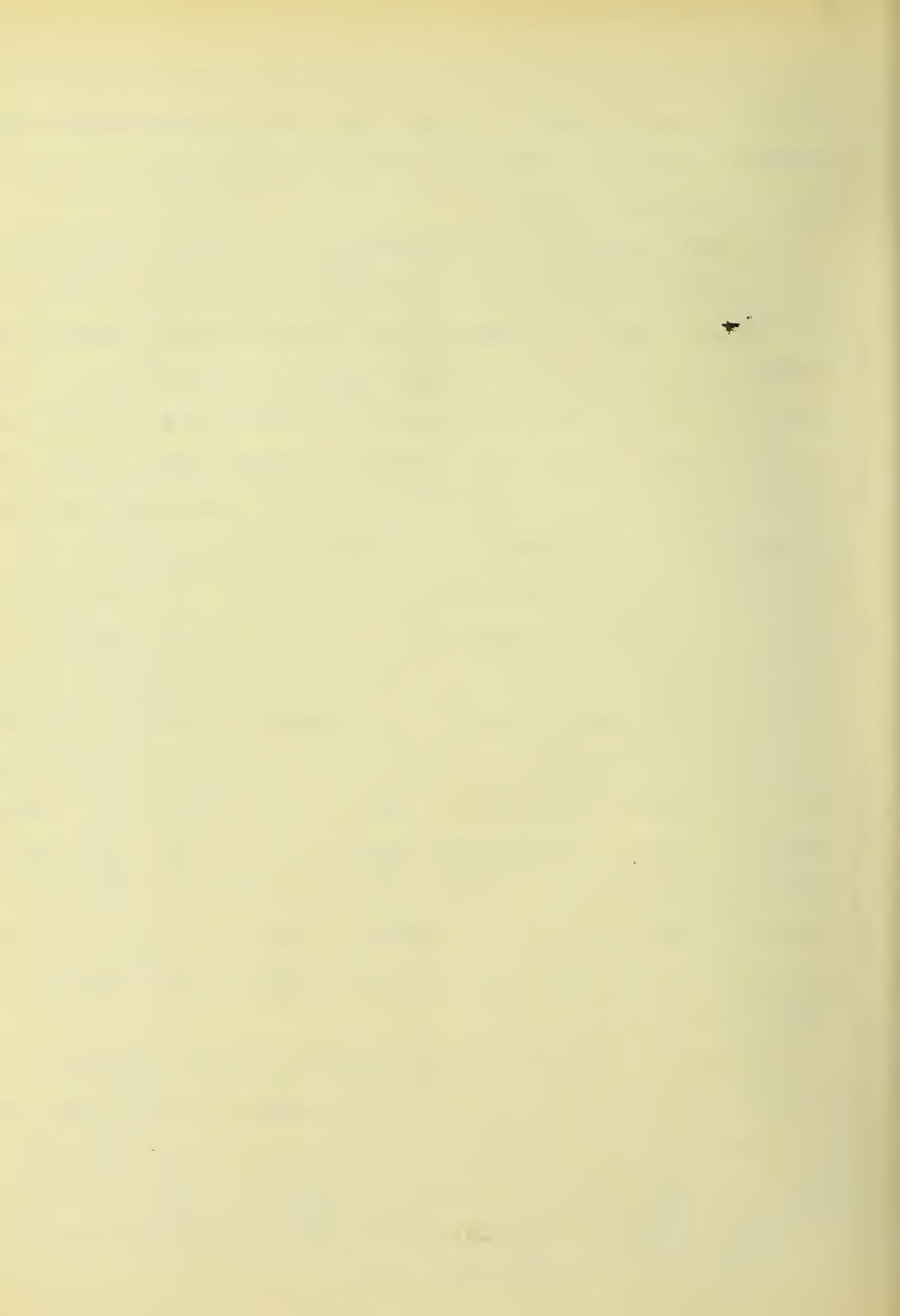
The renaissance saw the establishment in Italy of many neoplatonic academies or free societies, following the example given by the Medici in 1440. The ideal of the academies was not so much the increase of knowledge of the Greek language and literature, as the spread of a belief in the oneness of all mankind with the universe, an art of living rather than a system of thought², based on the teachings of Christ and Plato. The church feared a ~~xix~~³ dangerous rival in these teachers of humanity; the members of the academies were branded as heretics and the academies suppressed. The ideas however did not die. The strong opposition on the part of the Lutheran church since 1525 and then of the Catholic church during the counter-reformation was offset in part by the toleration assured in the Netherlands after the beginning in 1570 of the struggle for freedom against the Spanish world-power. Under the protection of the Dukes of Orange the ideas of humanism came forth again, to gain still greater freedom in England under Cromwell, until the ideal of these humanists became identical with that of Cromwell, to make of England the protector of all protestant nations until the time of the world-wide rule of Protestantism should come.³

In Italy the original academies of the fifteenth century which had died out or been suppressed were succeeded in the sixteenth century by many institutions of the same kind, in the same and other towns. By 1640 the fashion of founding these societies of voluntary

* Hermann Hoffmann in Deutsche Kultur, 1906, Heft 19. Quoted C.G.XV, 262-4.

² Keller: Geistige Grundlagen der Freimaurerei 13.

³ Weingarten 157.



membership, distinct from universities and schools, had reached its height. Masson* speaks of some that were then "mere fraternities of young men, dubbing themselves collectively by some fantastic or humorous designation, and meeting in each other's rooms, or in gardens, to read, recite, debate. Others, with names either grave or fantastic, had, by length of time and a succession of eminent members, become public and, in a sense, national institutions. Among the most illustrious at this time were in Florence the Academia Fiorentina, 1540, and the Academia della Crusca, founded by seceders from the first; in Rome, the Academia Amoristi. . . To these centers of dilettantism in poetry and art Milton was admitted during his visit to Italy in 1638."

In Germany Prince Ludwig of Anhalt, with others who had been in Italy, founded in 1617 an academy on the model of the Academia della Crusca, of which he had been a member since 1600.² This "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft", the Akademie zum Palmbaum, became the parent of many similar German academis such as the Aufrichtige Gesellschaft, von der Tanne, the Gesellschaft von den drei Rosen, the Pegnitz society, the Academia indissolubilis. Very little was generally known regarding these societies. Their real names, the fact of their origin from Italy and their purpose were kept secret; they announced as their program the cherishing of praiseworthy virtue and the knowledge of the mother-tongue.

Another of the Germans whose life had received new inspiration from his Italian journey was Johann Valentin Andreae. His plans for

*Life of Milton I 604-610.

²C. G. IV 11.

the furtherance of true Christianity in the spirit of Johann Arndt and his *Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, for the increase of true philosophy and science, and for the carrying out of these designs by means of a brotherhood of likeminded men, took form under the serious purpose of the youthful rosicrucian writings which he now ridiculed and opposed. Only those men blinded by a too powerful interest in wresting the secrets from nature would have overlooked in the "Fama Fraternitatis" the call for a world reformation in religion and education, for a union of all confessions and a cessation of quarrels between the various sects, for an understanding that truth may well belong simultaneously to all nations, in a word, for toleration. In his later writings, directed toward the formation of a Christian brotherhood for philosophical and scientific research, Andreae brought forward these same serious considerations, which men like Robert Fludd, seriously defending the rosicrucian fraternity which Andreae nicknamed the "invisible brothers" (*Unsichtbaren*), had overlooked for the appealing Paracelsian and alchymistical promises of Frater Rosenkreuz. Andreae's plan "came from the living conviction that the strength of the individual was insufficient under the generally existent conditions of decline, and that since a rescue from the scientific, moral and religious barbarism of the time must be sought, it could only be found in the union of men who, animated by like Christian zeal might, in many different localities at the same time, fan the holy flame of faith, of love and of knowledge and in this endeavor be ever strengthened by the consciousness of a great and united striving toward these noble ends." To this group of Andreae's writings belong "Invitatio fraternitatis Christi," part one 1617, part two 1618; "Christianaes societatis idea" and "Christiani amoris dextra porrectra," 1620. This ~~xxx~~ society of "scholars and

"Christians" called at first "Civitas soli", then "Societas christiana" or "Unio christiana"², for which many of Andreae's friends were ready, was not organized by reason of the separation and scattering of these friends incident to the Thirty Years' war. This destruction of his hopes Andreae laments in a letter to Comenius, 1629, expressing his real purpose in the following words: "Our aim was to restore Christ to his proper place and to combat the idols of science and religion."³ Among these friends of Andreae's were many whom we find later in other humanistic societies: Wilhelm von der Wense and Tobias Adami, pupils of Campanella, Johann Kepler, discoverer of the laws of planetary motion, Matthias Bernegger, Joachim Jungius, Theodor Haak, Samuel Hartlib, John Dury⁴ and Comenius.

In England in 1645 an academy, the "invisible college" or Academia Londoniensis was founded by Theodor Haak⁵, a German who studied in Oxford and Cambridge 1625 and returned to England 1629 after a few years spent on the continent. Haak was a public-spirited man, zealous for the progress of all learning, a friend of Comenius.⁶ There is evidence also of other "free societies" in England about this time.⁷ This society of Haak's however is the one that at the time of the restoration was chartered by Charles II as the "Royal Society."

That these various societies had deeper motives than those generally accredited to them is certain. The Italian ~~xxx~~ academies, after the pattern of which the "Order of the Palm" was founded, must have been to a certain extent at least secret societies, since neither

²C. G. XIV 245.

³Guhrauer: Joachim Jungius und sein Zeitalter 64.

⁴Guhrauer 234.

⁶~~Emmex~~ C. G. XVI 188.

⁵C. G. XVI 188. Stern: Milton und seine Zeit III, 194.

323 quoting from Frith: Life of Giordano Bruno, mentions an academy like those of Italy founded by Bruno in London about 1583.

⁷C. G. XVI 244.

⁷C.G.IV

their organization, their symbolism, their forms nor the list of membership was communicated to outsiders, and their real aims were concealed while publicity was given to purposes of a genuinely innocent and popular nature.* That the German organizations were not the mere language societies they were generally considered is apparent ~~from~~ when we look at the activities of their members. They emphasized the study of the mother-tongue, it is true, but there was hardly a writer among them who was not also interested in the study of natural philosophy, in religion, in mathematics or astronomy, so much so, in fact, that to most of them clung the suspicion of heresy--that they were rosicrucians and as such members of a religious sect highly dangerous to the church² and liable of course to persecution. Members of the seventeenth century academies were natural philosophers, reformers, theologians, educators, statesmen, poets, noblemen; such members there were, as Bacon, Giordano Bruno, Comenius, Robert Boyle, Milton, J. B. van Helmont, Campanella, Hugo Grotius, Leibniz, Oxenstierna, Valentin Andreeae, Spanheim, Pufendorf, Opitz.³ Throughout the whole list of membership there runs a line of spiritual relationship in the fact of their tolerance for the beliefs of others, a tolerance remarkable for the seventeenth century. With this they united strict opposition to the scholastic method. They were seriously religious, even to mysticism, but they understood the essence of Christianity differently from the ruling dogma. They treat not only of the relation of man to God, but of man to nature and of men to each other. For them a knowledge incapable of helping mankind had no value; a science shut off from the people in its language is useless; hence

* C. G. IV 26.

² C. G. IV 89.

³ C. G. XVI 122, 234.

their emphasis of the vernacular. To make all knowledge fruitful for the education of the human race and thus lead the race on to a higher stage of development^x was one of their great ideals. Their turn for the practical led them on in their striving for a general reformation of the whole world. With their keen sense of the significance of fraternal organization, they formed unions which included the whole life, the whole man and his whole mode of thinking. Their activities were in no way directed, as has been claimed, toward "childish play with symbols and signs but toward inclusive spiritual, religious, philosophical and scientific aims, the carrying out of which, in those times, could be accomplished only under secret organization.² The difficulties under which they labored compelled them to proceed with extreme caution, concealing their real interests and exhibiting to the world only what they considered secondary.

Under Cromwell's protection the members of the London academy were not obliged to conceal their purposes so carefully. Nevertheless a great deal of obscurity still surrounds the "invisible college", or collegium philosophicum as it was also called. Many of the members have been known to us as personal friends of Milton. Samuel Hartlib, who came to London in 1628, Milton had surely known since 1644 if not earlier.³ In the correspondence of Hartlib and Robert Boyle Milton's name is mentioned several times. Through Boyle's nephew Richard Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, one of Milton's pupils, the acquaintance with Heinrich Oldenburg of Bremen took on a deeper personal interest.⁴ Oldenburg was also father-in-law of John Dury, one of Hartlib's early friends, likewise a member of the "invisible college."

^x C. G. IV 8.

² C. G. XVI 234.

³ Althaus 222.

⁴ Stern III 195.

The ideals and plans of the college, and its close relationship to similar societies on the continent shown by the recurring mention of the names of continental leaders, are well represented by Hartlib's correspondence, which was carried on not only with all the countries of Europe, but with the West Indies and the North American English colonies, and dealt with religion, politics, science, literature schools and universities, useful inventions and social improvements. Whether Hartlib came to England originally as an agent of John Dury in the interest of a union of all protestant churches is not quite certain.* As surely he was deeply interested in the project from 1630 on, when Dury came to London.² The correspondence of Hartlib with Comenius resulted not only in his publishing many of the latter's writings on educational reform, but also in his being the instrument of Comenius' invitation to England from Parliament in 1641. The outbreak of the civil war prevented the carrying out of any plans for a general school reform. Comenius' six months stay in London must however have been a great incentive to his fellow-countrymen, already deeply interested in educational matters, and a source of joy to the religious refugees of the battle of White Mountain, 1620, from the Bohemian brotherhood, of which Comenius was twentieth and last bishop. In the correspondence of Hartlib and Boyle comes out the "utopian" interest of the philosophical academy,³ an explanation of which takes us into the society's innermost life.

* Althaus 197.

² Same 202.

³ Same 235.

Since the publication of More's "Utopia", 1516, ideas of state or world reform, more or less distinctly traceable to Plato's Republic, had flourished ~~sime~~^{almost} among almost all European nations. In 1551 appeared Franciscus Patricius' "La Citta Felice". After the "Fama Fraternitatis", 1614, (circulating in manuscript by 1610) came Bacon's "Nova Atlantis", 1607, Andreae's "Teipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio", 1619, and Campanella's^{*} "Civitas solis", 1623. In 1641 Hartlib published his ideal of a state in "A brief description of the famous Kingdom of Macaria, shewing its excellent government, wherein the inhabitants live in great prosperity, health and happiness; the king obeyed, the nobles honoured and all good men respected; vice punished and virtue rewarded. An example to other nations. In a dialogue between a scholar and a traveller."² Dedicated to "The High Court of Parliament."² It seems evident that the humanistic idea of world reform was part of the propaganda of free societies. In that light the "Utopian correspondence" refers to the activities of the secret societies, to that whole circle of altruistic endeavor which formed their interests, the inclusive realm of religious, pedagogical and social reform. In like manner the terms macaria, antilia, utopia, nova atlantis were used in correspondence as symbols or names for the societies themselves.³

The most far-reaching plan of reform was that in which the efforts of two zealous academy members, Comenius and Hartlib, were for years engaged. During his stay in London Comenius wrote his "Via lucis", in the eighteenth chapter of which he suggested, as a helpful method for spreading light (knowledge) among all peoples, the founding of a higher and uniform organization which should unite all of the

* Member of Academia Delia in Padua.

² Althaus 212.

³ G. G. IV 160.

existing societies in the various countries under a new name and that the English brotherhood should be placed at the head of the undertaking. "All the colleges, societies and fraternities," said he, "which have formerly secretly and openly existed, have been of some assistance, it is true, for theology and philosophy, but only for a part of mankind, not the whole."¹ He wished to call the organization *Collegium lucis* and its members *ministri lucis*. It was to be founded on the three sources of knowledge, the book of nature, the Scriptures, and the inborn ideas or inner light, which he called the teachings of Pansophia. After the general reformation of Christendom was effected, the work should be extended to include the Mohammedans, heathens and Jews. The pamphlet "*De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica ad genus humanum ante alios ad eruditos Europae*", written by Comenius 1645, was to further this plan for union and progress.² Hartlib proceeded to gain the interest of influential men in various places--the "*Via lucis*" was sent in manuscript to Oxenstierna among others³--with the intention of making public the final results, an indication that secrecy was not an end with these societies, but only at times an undesirable means and necessity.

Such an organization as here planned would have been possible only on the basis of existent related societies in England. But great political changes took place and the plans failed. The king was restored and the old London academy was made a royal society with certain circumscribed interests mainly ~~scientific~~ scientific. The

* C. G. IV 155.

² C. G. IV 157.

³ C. G. IV 155.

career that Hartlib^{*} and the other brothers worked for, the academy's organized power for social reform, had ended.

The relation of Jacob Böhme to the academies and their teachings (although it is possible that he may not even have known of the existence of such organizations) might be considered in a sense that of developer and systematizer, while in a certain way he merely lays the philosophical foundation for what they were already attempting to put into practice. His first works, the Aurora and the Three Principles, were written in 1612; after that he wrote no more until 1618. In the meantime the rosicrucian movement started. As representative of the humanistic spirit, the true rosicrucians were not distinguishable from the members of the academies. Expressive of this movement was the great spread of ideas of world reform, of getting at the secrets of nature, of advance in the sciences of medicine and alchemy--such ideas filled the minds of people of all classes. By expounding the true nature of man, Böhme laid a foundation for social reform; the whole body of his writings is an exposition of the inner workings of nature; and in the "Four Complexions" as well as in other works there are explanations of the temperamental origin of disease far in advance of the general knowledge of his time. His decided preference for the one great church invisible over the "churches of stone" with their unenlightened clergy is a theoretical expression of Dury's practical attempts to form a union of all protestant churches. Every one of his books is a protest against the dry scholastic method of teaching; with Comenius he depends on three sources of knowledge, nature, the Bible and inspiration. Under his doctrines of free-will

* Hartlib in a letter Nov. 15, 1659 tells Boyle of a book by Mr. Beale: "A free discovery of a true, lawful, holy and divine expedient for the propagation of the gospel and the establishment of an universal peace all over the world," and says: "The truth is, I design all such and the like works or tracts to be printed upon the charges of Macaria, whose scope it is most professedly to propagate religion, and to endeavor the reformation of the whole world." Quoted C.G.IV 160.

and freedom of conscience he would extend the possibility of salvation to Mohammedans, heathens and Jews. For the pretended alchymist Böhme had only contempt, exactly the attitude of the man who really was filled with the spirit of Andreae's teachings towards the man who boasted himself a rosicrucian.

There is evidence of the direct influence of Böhme's writings on the theology of Comenius,^{*} in whom the broader humanistic tendencies and mystical religious feeling were closely united. Their similar treatment of nature and inspiration or inner wisdom--Sophia in Böhme, Pansophia in Comenius--is at once evident. It is hardly possible that they had any personal acquaintance although Böhme was born near the Bohemian frontier; Comenius was only a few years old when Böhme started on his Wanderjahre, the unrecorded period of his life. The Bohemian brotherhood, of which Comenius was the last bishop, was a conserver, like the Waldenses, of old-Christian tradition and belief, in itself a form of free society of voluntary membership very similar to the academies.

The spirit of restless longing and dissatisfaction of the early seventeenth century that achieved self-expression in the plans for world reform and in the rosicrucian dreams of fraternity found itself mirrored quite as well in Jacob Böhme's writings. Mystical Christianity, a search for the hidden secrets of nature, a belief in man as the microcosm, and in harmony even with God--these thoughts found in one group of writings would lead inevitably to an interest in the other group. This is illustrated in the party of German pietists (they were called also true rosicrucians² or the theosophical brother-

* Encyc. Brit.: Comenius.

² Sachse: German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania 4.

hood) under Johann Jacob Zimmermann (1644-1694) who left Germany for the new world in 1693. Zimmermann was one of the best astronomers and mathematicians of his day and as such received acknowledgment from the Royal Society of England. He became interested in Böhme through his physician Ludwig Brunnquell, wrote on Böhme, and was finally discharged from his pastorate on that account.* According to Croese,² he became the leader of a group of Behmenistic pietists who bore a very close resemblance to the Quakers.³ The emigrants were assisted on their way by the Quakers of Holland⁴ and by the Philadelphists of London.⁵ In Pennsylvania, from their settlement on the banks of the ~~Exk~~
~~xxaxx~~ Wissahickon, they began a movement for systematic education and made the first attempt toward the erection and maintenance of a charitable institution for religious and moral education within the bounds of Pennsylvania.⁶ To bring about a union of all the various sects into one universal Christian church was one of the chief aims of their leader, Johann Kelpius. (Zimmermann had died just before the brotherhood sailed from Holland.) Among the books carried to America by these men were several complete sets of Böhme's works in the Amsterdam edition by Gichtel, 1682, ten volumes.⁷ It is interesting to compare the spirit of freedom and toleration in Pennsylvania with the spirit of religious compulsion which developed so early in the various colonies of Massachusetts.. With the latter the memory of escape from oppression quickly produced men who would be masters in their turn and who evolved from evangelical freedom the ~~fakxinistis~~^{severity of} Old Testa-

* Sachse 460-66.

² Quaker-Historie 742 ff.

³ Same 752.

⁴ Sachse 43.

⁵ Same 15.

⁶ Same 74.

⁷ Same 48, note 59.

ment law.* The Quaker colonies show how greatly the Calvinistic spirit of early puritanism had been modified under the later domination of enthusiastic religion.

While in London the leaders of Zimmermann's party had considerable intercourse with the so-called "Philadelphists", a society which was formed in England by the celebrated Jane Leade and others, originally for the purpose of studying and explaining the writings of Jacob Böhme.² The outcome of this movement was a league of Christians who insisted on depth and inwardness of the spirit. They likewise made plans to emigrate to America, the land of utopian freedom. Jane Leade (1623-1704) had been greatly influenced by the independent conventicles of London which she visited in 1643. In 1652 she came into close relationship with John Pordage and his wife and another member of his household, Thomas Bromley, ardent mystics and students of Böhme.³ About 1670 she began writing her many devotional books and pamphlets, founded on Böhme's theology,⁴ which were by a later writer recommended to the rosicrucians.⁵

Elias Ashmole, later a member of the Royal Society,⁶ became interested in John Pordage (1607-1681) on account of his astrological knowledge and made him rector of Bradford in 1647.⁷ In 1651 he was tried for insufficiency before the committee for plundered ministers appointed during the interregnum and the case dismissed in his favor.⁸ In 1654 he was again tried and dismissed from office. The accusation

* Weingarten 35.

² Sachse 15.

³ Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie v.35, p.184.

⁴ Feustking: Gymnaeum Haeretico fanaticum 416.

⁵ Hermann Fictuld: Proberstein Chymischer Schriften. Quoted in Zeitschrift für Hist. Theol. v.35, p.201.

⁶ Begemann: Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Maurerei in England II 28

⁷ Dic. Nat. Biog.: Pordage.

⁸ Wood: Athenae Oxonienses 149.

of being a mystical pantheist and the fact of his friendship for Abiezer Coppe, in 1649 a member of his household, worked against him.^{*} Coppe was an Anabaptist who later joined the ranters. In 1651 he was in correspondence with John Dury.² Arnold³ says that Pordage in his *Theologia Mystica* (published 1683) clearly and simply explained the hardest part of Böhme's writings. His connection with Böhme explains, at any rate, the accusation of mystical pantheism brought against Pordage in 1651-54.

The form under which English independency reached its height, under which after its brief period of political authority it returned to more strictly religious ideals, was the form under which the purely religious side of humanism most nearly approached the humanism of the free societies and academies; that is, in the "Christian Society of Friends", the name used by Fox in 1653. The first Quakers formed a great brotherhood. It was this fact of a close union within a firm and well-planned organization that made their progress so positive and their increase so significant, that made of the Quakers, from the first, almost a secret society, like that of the "Friends of God" of the fourteenth century.⁴ To this fact of organization, combined with the importance of the ideas they developed and disseminated, the Quakers owe it that they, of all the enthusiastic sects of the century, won a permanent existence and received into their membership very many adherents of slightly differing shades of belief. The courageous endurance, furthermore, of their despised sect which no persecution

*² Dic. Nat. Biog: Coppe.

³ Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie II 1107.

⁴ Weingarten 230.

could dismay, accomplished wonders toward the ultimate bringing into currency of the ideas animating the early teachers of true humanity. In the cult-language of the Society of Friends, of the Bohemian Brotherhood, of the Waldenses, of the Anabaptists and the old-evangelical communities there are manifold correspondences, and manifold echoes likewise from the inner circles of the academies and free societies.¹ The Society of Friends stood in much closer personal relationship to the ~~examples~~ contemporary secular societies of friends, as members of the academies usually called themselves, than historians usually lead one to believe.² This characteristic emphasis of friendship shows in the name of the German student academy "Orden der Freundschaft" or "Amizisten", which received, curiously enough, among other abusive epithets the name "Verfluchte Quäker".³ It is interesting to note that the German "Sprachgesellschaften", as well as the Anabaptists and the Quakers, refused to take an oath.⁴

One of the sects merging with the Quakers was that of the followers of Jacob Böhme⁵, that is, those persons who interested themselves in Böhme's principles and writings, since he really founded no sect but remained until his death an obedient member of the Lutheran church. If we may trust a contemporary historian, there were at that time very many lovers of Böhme in England,⁶ among the educated and uneducated alike. According to Colberg, the Quakers were generally much interested in Böhme's writings;⁷ they were, in fact, the chief books purchased

¹ C. G. XVII 188.

² Keller 18.

³ C. G. XVI 155.

⁴ C. G. XVII 264.

⁵ Encyc. Brit.: Böhme.

⁶ A. W. Böhme 920.

⁷ Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum I 292, 308.

by the followers of George Fox.¹ Baxter brings out their similarity in fundamental doctrine:² "the Behmenists' Opinions go much toward the way of the Quakers, for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, the Salvation of Heathens as well as Christians, and a dependence on Revelation &c." There might be mentioned in addition to this their agreement on freedom of conscience and free-will. A rather common occurrence is doubtless represented by Thomas Taylor (1618-1682)³ a puritan preacher, a man of some learning and a student of Jacob Böhme, who became a Quaker.

III

THE BOOKS

Böhme's complete works appeared in London between 1644 and 1662. Most of them were translated and published by John Sparrow (1615-1665), a London advocate who had been an officer in Cromwell's army. A relative of Sparrow's, John Ellistone, and a printer, Humphrey Blunden, who learned German for the purpose, finished the translation. The books were sold openly by Blunden and a man named Ludwig Loid in their stores near the London exchange.⁴

The following is a complete list of Böhme's works, with the name of the translator of the English edition and the date of its first publication:

1612.

1. The Aurora (unfinished). With Notes added by his own hand,

in 1620

Sparrow 1656.

* Ludowick Muggleton: A Looking Glass for G. Fox. Quoted in Dic. Nat. Biog.:Fox. See also L.H.Behrens: The Digger Movement. Winstanley 43 note.

² Narrative I 77§124.

³ Dic. Nat. Biog. Thomas Taylor.

⁴ A. W. Böhme 924.

2. The Three Principles of the Divine Essence. With
an Appendix concerning the Threefold life of
Man Sparrow 1648
1620
3. The Threefold Life of Man " 1650
4. Answers to Forty Questions concerning the
Soul. With an Appendix " 1647
5. The Treatise of the Incarnation " 1659
6. The Great Six Points. Also other Six Points " 1661
7. Of the Earthly and of the Heavenly Mystery " 1661
8. Of the Last Times. (Epistles 4 and 5 included
in no. 32a) " 1649
1621
9. De Signatura Rerum Ellistone 1651
10. The Four Complexions Sparrow 1661
11. The Apology to Balthasar Tylcken in two parts " 1661
12. Considerations upon Esias Stiefel's book " 1661
1622
13. An Apology on Repentance. Reply to Stiefel " 1661
14. Of True Repentance
15. Of True Resignation
16. Of Regeneration
1623
17. Of Predestination Sparrow 1655
18. A Short Compendium of Repentance " 1655
19. The Mysterium Magnum. Ellistone & Sparrow 1654
20. A Table of the Divine Manifestation, or
an Exposition of the Threefold World Blunden & Sparrow 1655

1634

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------|--|
| 31. The Supersensual Life | | | |
| 22. Of Divine Contemplation (unfinished) | Sparrow | 1661 | |
| 23. Of Christ's Testament | | | |
| I. Baptism; II. The Supper | " | 1652 | |
| 24. Of Illumination (with nos. 14, 15, 16,
18, and 21 with title The Way to Christ) | " | 1648 | |
| 25. An Apology for the Book True Repentance | " | 1661 | |
| 26. 177 Theosophic Questions, with Answers
to thirteen of them (unfinished) | " | 1661 | |
| 27. An Epitome of the Mysterium Magnum | " | 1654 | |
| 28. The Holy Week or a Prayer Book (unfin-
ished) | " | 1661 | |
| 29. A Table of the Three Principles | Blunden | 1654 | |
| | Sparrow | 1661 | |
| 30. Of the Last Judgment (lost) | | | |
| 31. The Clavis | " | 1647 | |
| 1618-1624 | | | |
| 32. Sixty-Two Theosophic Epistles. | | | |
| a. Thirty-five, with a warning from J.B.
to such as read his works | Ellistone | 1649 | |
| b. Twenty-five. The ^{seventh} Epistle is pre-
fixed to the Supersensual Life
(no. 21) and the twentieth forms
the preface to the second Apology
to B. Tylcken (no. 11) | | | |

A. W. Böhme gives the following additional English editions:*

Theosophische Sendschreiben

Ellistone 1649

* 921-22.

Four Complexions	(Charles) Hotham	1654
Mysterium Magnum		1645
Jac. Böhmens Leben	Durandus Hotham	1645
The Way to Christ was printed several times, (See no. 24 in list of complete works)		

The British Museum Catalog gives the following additional publications, without the name of author (in the case of the "Life") or translator, with the exception of the last on the list:

The Life of one Jacob Boehmen wherein is contained a perfect catalogue of his works	1644
The tree of Christian Faith: being a true information how a man may be one spirit with God, &c.	1645
Consideration upon the book of E. Stiefel (a theosophic letter, &c.)	1653
Mysterium Magnum (Ellistone and Sparrow)* To which is added The life of the author (by D. Hotham) and his four tables of Divine Revelation (Englished by H. B(lunden))	1654

*See no. 19 in list of complete works.

Part of the works appeared in Latin; all of them in Dutch. Often the Dutch edition preceded the German edition; both were usually printed in Amsterdam. Occasionally even the English edition preceded the German, as in the case of the "Forty Questions" and the "Clavis", of which the following editions had appeared before Milton's death:

*C. J. Barker: Böhme's Forty Questions and Clavis. Intro.

Forty Questions

1632	Latin	Amstelodami sm. 8vo.
1637	Dutch (appendix only)	Amsterdam
1642	"	"
1647	English	London
1648	German	Amsterdam
1663	German	"
1665	English	London

Clavis

1642	Dutch	Amsterdam
1647	English	London
1662	German	Amsterdam

Various facts regarding Böhme and the spread of his writings in England come out in Sparrow's prefaces. In his "To the English Reader", in the "Election of Grace, or Predestination", Sparrow holds that "the Authour Disputes not at all, he desires only to Confer and Offer his understanding and ground of Interpreting the Texts on Both sides, . . . for the Conjoyning, Uniting and Reconciling of all Parties in Love." Sparrow emphasizes ~~the~~ our need of the "inner Light" and rejoices "that God hath bestowed so great a Gift and Endowment upon this Brother of Ours, Jacob Behm."^{*} In the preface to the "Three Principles" Sparrow mentions the benefits that may be expected from the study of Böhme's writings. As a lawyer, the first thing Sparrow notes and mentions is: "among the rest there is a hint about reforming the laws, by degrees, in every nation; and there is no doubt, but if those in whose hands it is to make laws did but consider what the spirit of God is, and may be stirred up in them, they would stir him

*English edition 1655.

up and make a reformation according to that spirit of love, the Holy Ghost. And then they would be God's true vicegerents; they would be the fathers of their country, and deal with every obstinate rebellious member in the kingdom as a father would do with a disobedient child. . . . God taketh such care for us all, though we be most obstinate enemies against him; and we should do so for all our brethren, the sons of Adam; though they be our enemies, we should examine their wants and supply them, that necessity may not compel them to be our enemies still, and offend God, that they may but live. If they will . . . turn murderers, let them be provided for as other more friendly children of the Commonwealth, and removed to live by themselves, in some remote uninhabited country, . . . with means for an honest subsistence. . . . Then all hearts will bless the hands of such reformers and love will cover all the ends of the earth."¹ In his preface to his second edition of the Forty Questions, 1665, Sparrow tells us: "When this book was first printed, (1647) I endeavoured, by a friend, to present one of them to His Majesty King Charles, that then was, who vouchsafed the perusal of it. About a month after was desired to say what he thought of the book, who answered, that if the publisher in English seemed to say of the author, that he was no scholar, and if he were not, he did believe that the Holy Ghost was now in men, but if he were a scholar, it was one of the best inventions that ever he read. I need not add the censure of any other person; knowing none to compare with this, one way or other."²

It is not improbable that Hartlib and Boyle were acquainted with

¹ C. J. Barker's edition of Three Principles xvi, xvii.

² C. J. Barker's edition of Forty Questions xvi, xvii.

this London advocate Sparrow. May 19, 1659 Hartlib wrote to Boyle: "This day the parliament past an act for constituting John Sadler, John Sparrow and Samuel Moyer judges for probate of wills."^{*} December 1659 John Sadler, Taylor, Whitelock and others were appointed judges for probate of wills.² Hartlib knew Sadler;³ full of detail and news as his letters are, it is doubtful if he would mention facts about mere names that held no interest for himself or the recipient of his news.

Charles Hotham (1615-1672) was another of Böhme's distinguished admirers. He received his degree at Cambridge, was appointed fellow of Peter's College and later administrator of the university.⁴ Blunden published in 1648 a discourse of Hotham's, delivered two years before at Cambridge, under the title "Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam Manductio: seu Determinatio de origine animae humanae. . . ." This eulogy of Böhme's philosophy was dedicated to the chancellor, senate and students of Cambridge.⁵ It contained some verses by Henry More, commending the author but professing ignorance regarding Böhme, due to the difficult language and style of his writings.⁶ The pamphlet appeared in an English translation 1650 by Charles' brother Durand Hotham. Blunden furnished the material for Durand Hotham's biography of Böhme 1654.

for
Various English works were recommended ~~by~~ the elucidation of

* Works of Boyle, VI 126.

² Dic. Nat. Biog.: Sadler.

³ Althaus 272.

~~G. J. Barker's edition of Forty Questions xvi, xvii.~~

⁴ Dic. Nat. Biog.

⁵ ⁶ A. W. Böhme 924, 5.

Böhme's writings. Among these were^{*} "Magica Adamica"² and "Lumen de Lumine"³, written by Thomas Vaughan (1621-1665) who called himself Eugenius Philalethes. Vaughan was an admirer of Cornelius Agrippa, a great chymist and experimental philosopher, a zealous brother of the Rosicrucian fraternity; neither a papist nor a sectary, but a true resolute protestant. He wrote the preface to the first English translation of the "Fama Fraternitatis" and "Confessio" 1652. At the time of the plague he accompanied Sir Robert Murrey to Oxford.⁴ Robert Murrey was the first president of the Royal Society, before the charter was obtained.⁵

A. W. Böhme mentions other lovers of the "Teutonic philosopher": one who published his prophecies in "Mercurius Teutonicus";⁶ another who wrote a poem explaining Böhme's principles set forth in hieroglyphic figures, called "Mundorum Explicatio"; a certain Edward Taylor (died 1684) whose clear and lucid style recommends his explanation of Böhme's philosophy collected and published in 1691, "Theosophic Philosophy unfolded"; and a certain doctor of medicine, William Acor, who published an English life of Tauler in 1660.⁷

In 1655 Meric Casaubon in his "Treatise concerning Enthusiasm" discussed the "Teutonic Chimericall extravagancies of Religion" and mentioned in a note page 126, "Wigelius, Stifelius, Jac. Behmius; and divers others of that countrie, mere Fanaticks; as unto any sober

* A. W. Böhme 923.

² or the Antiquity of Magic and the Descent thereof from Adam downward, proved etc. London 1650.

³ or a new magical Light discovered and communicated to the world. London, 1651, and Aphorismi Eugeniam. Printed with the Lumen de Lumine and dedicated to Oxford University.

⁴ Wood III 722-25.

⁵ Sir William Huggins: The Royal Society (Murrey is here spelled Moray)

⁶ London 1649. Sparrow was probably the author. Dic. Nat. Biog.: Sparrow.

⁷ A. W. Böhme 923, 931, 934.

man may appear by their writings: some of which have been translated into English." The year following Dr. Henry More (1614-1687), the head of the Cambridge Platonists, whose interest in the whole mystical, neoplatonic movement dates back to his reading of the "Theologia Germanica", criticized Böhme in his "Enthusiasmus Triumphatus." In 1670 he published the "Philosophiae Teutonicae censura", devoted entirely to a discussion of Böhme. He condemns him for his claim of inspiration, but speaks highly of him as a sincere man who intended no fraud. In fact, he said so much in favor of Böhme that the whole criticism, according to Carriere, had the opposite effect of being a favorable judgment on the part of an unprejudiced theologian. The growth of the interest in Böhme's writings between 1655 when he is mentioned in a note and 1670 when a learned man devotes to him a whole treatise is remarkable; especially in view of More's statement that Böhme has now an enormous number of admirers,^{*} and an equal number of persons who consider him a diabolical heretic. More calls Böhme the apostle of the Quakers.²

The mode of appearance of Böhme's works in England followed closely that in Germany and Holland, where learned men were the first to embrace his teachings and provide for the dissemination of his writings. These were likewise spread in manuscript in England as on the continent. The author has seen a beautiful, carefully bound manuscript copy of the "Way to Christ", dated 1647.³ This collection of short tracts Ritschl considered the most generally popular of Böhme's writings.

^{*} Opera Omnia I 531: Sed hoc est quod dico me nempe manifesto mei ipsum obnoxium reperire censurae duarum et diametro oppositarum hominum partium, quippe alteri Autorem. Quem examinandum auscepi, tanti aestimant, ut nihil infra Canonizationem et Infallibilitatem, juxta hos enormes illius Admiratores. Meritorum ejus magnitudinem aequare possit. Alteri è contra eum adeò execrantur tanquam Hereticum Diabolicum.

² Same 532.

³ Owned by Dr. S. P. Sherman, Illinois University.

With very few exceptions, such as John Sparrow's prefaces, our information regarding Böhme and more particularly concerning the spread of his doctrines in England comes to us from his opponents, who may at least be said not to exaggerate in his favor. More particulars may perhaps be contained in the works of John Anderdon (listed in the British Museum catalog), which are unfortunately not available in America: "Against Babylon and her merchant in England, one groan more from under the altar: for the sufferings of the saints." London 1661, and "One blow at Babel in those of the people called Behmenites. . . whose foundation. . . is upon J. Behmen's writings." London 1662.

Up to this point we have been attempting to throw light upon the spread of Böhme's writings during the lifetime of Milton. Perhaps the greatest proof of the impetus that the movement had gained in England even in its earlier years is shown by its continued growth and vitality. That which found expression in the seventeenth century in sectarian life, "in the regular societies of Behmenists in Holland and England, embracing not only the cultivated but the vulgar,"^{*} continued not as a sect but as the leavening teaching, philosophical as well as devotional, within the recognized churches. This was due to the efforts of such learned and gifted men as Francis Lee, Thomas Tryon, Dionsius Andreas Freher, William Law and Sir Isaac Newton.

Francis Lee, fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, published the writings and elaborated the teachings of Jane Leade and the Philadelphia society. This society had a professed existence only from 1697 to 1704, the year of the death of its leader Jane Leade. It was however of much earlier origin, "owing its existence to one or two devout persons of the complexion of piety peculiar to the Crom-

*Encyc. Brit.: Böhme.

well times, giving themselves up to the study of Behmen's writings."

Tryon was a "celebrated practical philosopher, philanthropist and physician, who lived at the close of the seventeenth century, and who wrote all his treatises upon the principles set forth in Behmen's writings"², "The Way to Health", 1697, "Knowledge of a Man's Self", 1703, among others.

Freher (1649-1728) was a German philosopher, of great learning and piety. During the latter years of his life, spent in London, "he appears to have been entirely taken up with his manuscript demonstrations and illustrations of Böhme's writings, having also continually with him a friend, of the name of Leuchter, a draftsman, to execute the beautiful drawings and symbols with which his demonstrations are so abundantly illustrated, as well as to make copies of the same for others."³ Freher's very extensive commentaries and elucidations of Böhme's writings were known, though they have never been published.⁴

William Law (1687-1762) was an eminent scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who left holy orders because of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to King George I. He learned German in order to make a complete English edition of Böhme's works based on the careful German edition of Gichtel 1730. His death prevented the completion of his plan. The incomplete English edition of Böhme, 1764, that goes by the name of the Law's edition was published later by his

*Memorial of William Law, 141 note. This work, "treasury of biographical and bibliographical information" (Dic. Nat. Biog.) relating to Böhme, Freher, Law and other mystical writers, was compiled by Mr. Walton, and printed 1854, for "private circulation." The entire edition of five hundred copies was given away by the author to libraries and public institutions. The copy here quoted is one in which the author had made innumerable emendations to the text; owned by Dr. S.P. Sherman.

²Memorial of Law: 112.

³Same, 141.

⁴For a list, see "Freher's MSS." in Appendix B, Barker's edition of Threefold Life of Man, taken from Memorial of Law 679-684.

friends from the original Sparrow and Ellistone translations. "Next to the Scriptures," wrote Law,¹ "my only book is the illuminated Behmen. And him I only follow so far as he helps to open in me that which God had opened in him, concerning the death and the life of the fallen and redeemed man." "The ground of all things was never opened in any man but Behmen, and perhaps never would be opened in any other man."² The writings of the Quaker Isaac Pennington also came in Law's list of approved reading.³

One of the friends and associates who gained the most perhaps from the teachings of William Law was John Wesley. Through him the teachings of Böhme became the foundation of the practical piety and enthusiastic and devout religious life of the early Methodists.⁴ Through the reading of Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call" Wesley was convinced of the error of his ways and began leading a new life.⁵

On the ~~mixed~~ side of his philosophical and scientific influence Böhme's most noted follower was Isaac Newton. Law states in a letter to Dr. Cheyne: "When Sir Isaac Newton died, there were found amongst his papers large abstracts out of J. Behmen's works, written with his own hand. . . It is evidently plain that all that Sir I. has said of the universality, nature and effects of attraction, of the three first laws of nature, was not only said, but proved in its true and deepest ground, by J. B. in his Three first Properties of Eternal Nature. . . Sir Isaac was formerly so deep in J.B. that he, together with one Dr. Newton, his relation, set up furnaces, and for

¹ Memorial of Law: Letter to Mr. Clark, 600.

² Memorial of Law 370.

³ Same 596.

⁴ Same 175, 563.

⁵ Works of Rev. John Wesley III 71.

⁶ Memorial of Law 46.

several months were at work in quest of the Tincture, purely from what they conceived from him." "Sir Isaac did but reduce to a mathematical form the central principles of nature revealed in Behmen... The same observations will generally apply to most of the philosophical schemes and discoveries of more recent date; among the minor ones, for instance, to the science of physiognomy introduced by Lavater and perfected as phrenology by Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; also to that which is sound of the philosophy of Berkeley, to the delicate and well-grounded, though difficult science of homoeopathy of Hahnemann, who studied the principles of J. B. (as more particularly described in his *Signatura Rerum*)... All these individuals were students of Behmen, and many others of the savans of Germany and England both dead and living."¹*

IV

MILTON HIMSELF

As a young man, Milton's father became a protestant and was consequently disowned by his zealous catholic parents. The poet Milton grew up in a puritan home where religion was not a matter of inheritance but of conviction, and where a feeling for the true inwardness of religious life became a part of his very nature. A consciousness of the essential characteristic of the reformation as a continual progress into the knowledge of things divine was Milton's birthright equipment for life and service. Toland says that the poet belonged in youth to the presbyterians, later to the independents and baptists and that finally he freed himself from all church affiliations.² Certain it is that while on many questions he came early to a definite stand, in others he advanced far beyond the viewpoint of his youth

* Memorial of Law 3.

² Toland; Life Of Milton 139-140.

and early manhood. For this reason his personality and writings alike hold up a mirror to the spiritual and intellectual progress of his time.

Milton's education, his early ideals and the general course of his life were dominated by puritanism; not however the stern, exaggerated puritanism of a later polemic epoch but an earnest yet warm devotion to religion that included the beautiful with the good, that found no irreconcilable contrast between love of music and poetry and love of God. Early in his university career he realized that he was to find there no real education for the ministry, to which he had at first hoped to give himself, but rather a "school of divinity that obscured all true religion." When in 1642 an opponent reproached him with having worse than frivolously wasted his time at the university, he denounced in no doubtful terms the educational system² under which nevertheless, thanks to the care of his father for his earlier training, he laid a large part of the foundation for his scholastic greatness. Moreover, "coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who should take orders must subscribe slave and take an oath withal, which. . . he must either straight perjure, or split his faith"; he "thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."³

A silence of the pen however, even under adverse conditions, was never a part of Milton's plan. His poetical aspirations were determining his actions even before the Italian journey upon which he received so much encouragement from new friends that, as he tells us, "I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends

*Pauli: Aufsätze zur Englischen Geschichte 349.

²Prose Works III 112. Apology.

³Same II 482. Church Government.

here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study, (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."^{*} At Horton he had been consciously preparing for greater poetic flights, in his study of the Greek and Latin authors; even in 1642 he had not yet completed "the full circle of his private studies."² His early poetry hints at the lofty ideal of a union of classical and Christian elements which was to characterize the works of his later great creative period, but the classical element then held far the larger place in Milton's mind³; he longed to know the land in which memories of the greatness and beauty of the ancients were still a living power.

In the spring of 1638 Milton started on his journey to Italy. It is interesting to note how quickly he came into contact with the academy spirit, not only in the societies, the Academia della Crusca and others of Florence and Rome,⁴ but in such academy members as Hugo Grotius,⁵ whom he met in Paris, Lucas Holstein in Rome who showed him particular courtesy and friendliness, to whom one of Milton's "familiar letters" is addressed, Galilei⁶ whom he visited as a blind "prisoner of the inquisition", and the father of Ezekiel Spanheim of Geneva with whom he later corresponded.⁶ From all the accounts that we have the journey was entirely one of artistic and literary stimu-

* Prose Works II 274, Church Government.

² Same II 476.

³ Stern I 259.

⁴ Masson I 610.

⁵ C. G. XVI 122, 234.

⁶ Prose Works III 498, Letter no. IX.

⁷ Masson I 629.

⁶ Prose Works III 509, Letter no. XVII.

lation. Milton was still full of the thought of his mission as a poet who, writing in his mother-tongue, should sometime bring honor to his native land. Nevertheless his first public acts upon his return to London were a break with this ideal; he began a long period of polemic writing. Doubtless his puritan conscience was roused to force him to combat with the perverters of true religion in the form of "hireling shepherds." But is that a sufficient explanation of the striking change that is now evident? That the change is not superficial we must infer from the long years, the best part of Milton's lifetime, given in a public-spirited devotion to the cause of liberty, through a most effective medium of controversial prose, a medium however far from congenial to the thoroughly classical interests and inclinations of the poet's nature, of a man whose instincts and training led him rather to the retired leisure of a life devoted to "divinest Melancholy." In the academies he came into contact with men of highest culture and education, whose interests were not, as we have seen, wholly confined to literature and art; the patriotic spirit of the man whose Divine Comedy rescued his mother-tongue from oblivion was still alive. The Academia della Crusca had already become the model for those centers of interest in national reform and progress, the German "fruchtbringende Gesellschaften." Some of Milton's deepest impressions must likewise have come from the publicist-poet Hugo Grotius, the first man to teach that the state is a civil contract of people's rights opposed to the divine rights of kings,^x and from the depths of national spirit that he felt at Geneva in the Calvinistic republic. In Rome a conscious spirit of opposition seems to have been aroused in Milton, he spoke openly and decidedly about his religion. It was on a visit to Rome that Luther's

^xDe jure belli ac pacis. Paris 1625. See Weingarten 289.

knowledge of his mission was awakened. Upon his return from Italy Milton entered public life.

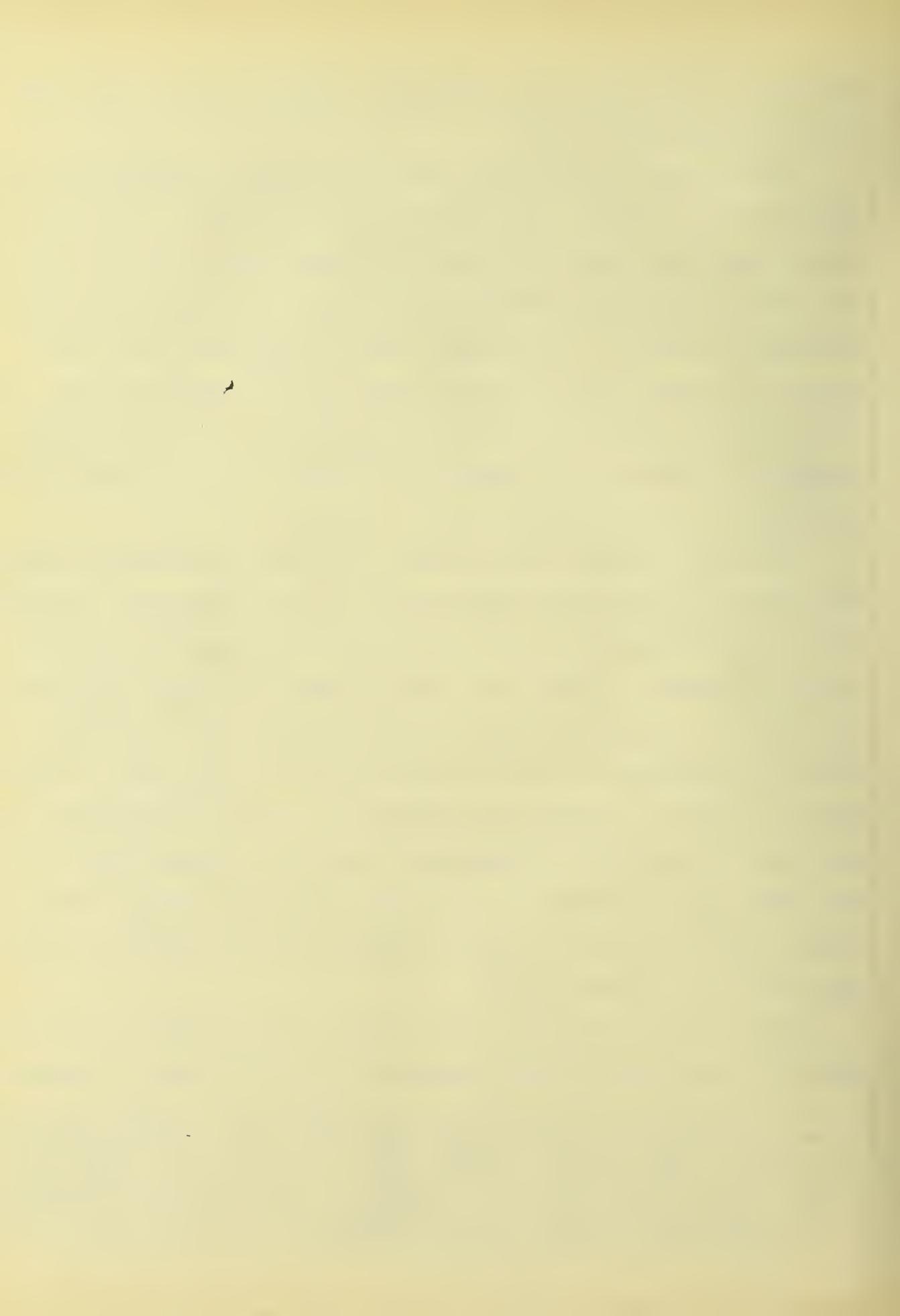
His writings of the period from his return to 1644^x are strictly presbyterian in spirit. His opposition is to prelacy, to the church forms lingering on from the days of the Roman church, to the prevailing unworthy influences in the universities, to the deadening scholasticism of his age. At the same time he expresses clearly the belief in a state church without bishops, and in predestination. Man is born impure, subject to the prince of this world, the devil; punishment and hell await the unelect; the elect are to be saved through the merits of Christ and His reconciliation.

The idea of freedom however has been steadily developing through this period, in the great advance made from a hierarchical, bishops' church to the somewhat more democratic presbyterian form. In the tracts on divorce, Milton works out his ideas of freedom along domestic lines. The personal equation enters deeply here, to be sure, in his bitter reiteration of the strictly orthodox "chief end of woman" and her rights--to absolute subserviency. But ~~with~~² the sacrament of marriage becomes under his exposition the civil contract that it had been among the old Germanic races before the Roman church, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, absorbed it as an additional hold upon the mind of freeborn man.²

The writings of the year 1644, before the completion of the series on divorce, mark further progress in Milton's views, a greater

*Of Reformation in England and the causes that hitherto have hindered it; and Of prelatical episcopacy, 1641. The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy, 1642. Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defense against Smectymnuus, and Apology for Smectymnuus, 1642. Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 1643. Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, 1644. Tetrachordon, and Colasterion, 1645.

²Weinhold: Die Deutschen Frauen I 357-8.



advance into liberty. These are the Areopagitica and the tractate on education--on freedom of speech and on ~~exact~~ education to freedom.

The Tractate on Education was dedicated to Samuel Hartlib, ~~xxx~~ at whose "earnest entreaties and serious conjurements" it was written, at a time when Milton's mind was "half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which can not but furtherance both to the enlargement of be a great¹ truth, and honest living with much more peace"²--the works on divorce. This is the first mention of the ~~friendship~~ bewteen these men which may well have begun however, as Milton's reference to "incidental discourses into which we have wandered"³ seems to suggest, some time previous to this writing. Hartlib came to England in 1629. From a letter of his, June 1638, to Joseph Meade of Christ's College, Cambridge, Wilton's former tutor, we see that he was living in a house in Duke's Place in London, which was not far from the house Milton took on his return from the continent. There Hartlib remained it appears, until 1650, when he removed to Charing Cross in the neighborhood of Whitehall⁴. Milton had moved in 1647 to High Holborn; in 1650, as secretary of the Commonwealth, he removed to Charing Cross for a time, then to Whitehall and then to Petty-France. It would have been remarkable if a zealous man like Hartlib, "the stimulus to all good in England" as one of his correpondents called him⁵, had been unable to attract Milton and interest him for his plans. In addition to that, Hartlib's religious and political ideas could not fail to be congenial to those of the poet.⁵

* Prose Works III 462-63 On Education.

² Same.

³ Althaus 205.

⁴ Stern II 282.

⁵ Same.

The group of friends most closely associated with Hartlib during the years between 1640 and 1660 included Haak, Pell, Dury, Boyle, Oldenburg and Comenius, during the latter's visit to London---all men filled, as we have seen, with the reform ideas of the free societies and of Valentin Andreae. Milton's ambition to glorify his mother-tongue, his tendency to unite in his poetry the beauty of antiquity with the moral greatness of Christianity, his broad interest in nations other than his own, his opposition to scholasticism, his activity in the interest of reform in church and school, all these interests made him a congenial member of the circle of friends, inspired with the same ideals, into which Hartlib introduced him. Milton mentions "our friend Dury" in one of his ~~xxix~~ letters; Haak and Pell were his friends;² four letters of his correspondence with Oldenburg are preserved; Boyle was a brother of Milton's friend ~~xxxi~~ Lady Ranelagh whose son was a pupil first of Milton, then of Oldenburg. It is more than probable that a man like Milton would become acquainted also with the celebrated foreigner Comenius; certainly he knew of the great educator by reputation at least, as is shown by his allusion to the "person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island."³ Although his inclination did not lead him as he said: "to search what many modern Januas and Didactics,⁴ more than ever I shall read, have projected"⁵, he thoroughly agreed with Comenius that language is merely the instrument of knowledge. Haak, whom Milton may likewise have known earlier, since he studied theology in Cambridge and Oxford about 1625, returned permanently to England in 1629 after a short stay on the continent. For a short time only deacon under

*Prose Works III 518 to John Badiaus.

²Stern II 280.

³Prose Works III 463 On Education.

⁴Among Comenius' works are Janua linguarum reservata, Janua rerum,

⁵Didactika magna. Prose Works III 464 On Education.

Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, Haak seemed to have lived without office in London, in close association with Pell, Selden, Hartlib and the Swabian poet Weckherlin, as an attentive friend of German visitors to England, Comenius and Hermann Viilius among others. He translated many theological works from Dutch into English, also from English into German, and was the first to translate "Paradise Lost" into German. He sent to Johann Seobald Fabricius, brother of the influential Heidelberg court preacher, a copy of his translation of the first three books and part of the fourth. The work was never printed but was used by Ernst Gottlieb von Berge in his translation of Paradise Lost, Zerbst 1682.*

In 1645 Haak gave the impulse to the formation of the philosophical or invisible college, to which these men belonged. They are generally known as the group of investigators along lines of mathematical and scientific research who later became the members of the Royal Society. Not all members however took an active part in the work of investigation; nor was that the only interest of the society. The ideas of reform along all lines seem to have been represented by various individuals, such as Dury's great work to bring about the union of all protestant churches into one great united world church, Hartlib's efforts toward the increase of wealth and general prosperity through the use of improved agricultural methods, and Milton's far-reaching activity in the struggle for separation of church and state. The secret character of the organization and its connection with the circle of Andreae, Comenius, Jungius and such men is shown by their use of a certain definite symbolism. On the title-page of Milton's Poems in the 1645 editions is the figure of Urania with a pair of compasses and Erato with the T-square. The same figure is

*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur. Neue Folge I 423, 431-32.

the introduction to Comenius' "Pansophiae Prodromus," the figure of Heaven's queen, or wisdom, crowned and with the T-square and compasses at her feet. Also Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649) and second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1668) contain undoubted use of this same symbolism, which likewise appears in the publications of Robert Boyle and Samuel Hartlib.¹ A little study of the great role played by this use of symbols in the literary life of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as among the academy circles, shows at once that this correspondence in the use of certain symbols could not be the result of mere coincidence.

The *Areopagitica*, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, which appeared late in 1644, is the formal expression of Milton's changed attitude by which he attached himself to the rapidly growing independent party. New oppressors had arisen in the persons of the former apostles of freedom. The Presbyterians, since the autumn of 1643 the ruling power in the state church, had only too quickly learned to feel at home in the role of prelates; their former insistence upon freedom of the press against the episcopal censors and their use then, against the bishops, of a freed press, had to be forgotten when the same freedom might be turned against themselves in an opposition to their church reform, which was a mere change in name and title. For the growth of religious truth Milton demanded free movement within the church, an unhindered development of differences among the believers themselves, in a word, religious toleration. For him protestantism must cease when implicit faith is demanded.² The apostle of freedom explains the origin of censorship, an invention of the popes as a weapon against the reformation,

¹C. G. XVII 171, 174

²Liebert: Milton 164.

adopted by the English prelates and then inherited by the Presbyterians. An invention might be good, whoever the inventor, but this turned out to be as subversive of liberty as the worst enemy of liberty could desire, since it protected neither author nor reading public, to both of whom its mere existence was a degrading insult. The problems of evil and free will are concerned, in the discussion of which Milton shows himself not clearly decisive perhaps but already at variance with the orthodox presbyterian dogma on the questions which were later to constitute the basis of his great poetical works. "It was from out the rind of an apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is the doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil; that is to say, of knowing good by evil."^{*} "Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force."² This liberty of printing was not to apply only to Latin, the tongue of the learned, but to the language of the people as well, so that if "any one would write and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving reformation which we labour under, if truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak,"³ his message might be heard. Hartlib, in his "Macaria," three years before, had named in the "natural causes of reformation a spread of knowledge,

* Prose Works II 67 Areopagitica.

² Same 74.

³ Same 28.

through the press, "that the common people, knowing their own rights and liberties, will not be governed by way of oppression."¹ Is this similarity of thought on the part of Milton, Hartlib's personal friend, mere accidental coincidence?

The four years 1645 to 1649 represent a pause in Milton's public life during which, aside from the sonnets against the presbyterians and to Fairfax, he published nothing. In this period the struggle between king and people reached its climax. The four years form for Milton not a pause for rest but a pause for work, for preparation for new and extraordinary activity. Before this he had said farewell to poetry to devote himself to theology; now he turns from theology to politics. From his later writings we learn that he spent this time largely in the study of the history, constitution and laws of his native land. In the "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates", February 1649, written at his own initiative to allay the wild strife of feelings and opinions called forth by the imprisonment of King Charles², he strikes at once the keynote of his independency. The attitude of toleration to a state church is entirely changed. The state is the highest point, the fulfilment, of the demands of the moral life, and it must be as free from the domination of church and priest as the religious life from interference on the part of the state. He demands entire freedom as opposed to the half freedom of the presbyterians. The source of power is with the people and by them, for the general welfare, entrusted to the sovereign; there exists no divine rights of kings to be tyrants; if they misuse their power, the people who gave it are at liberty and have the duty to

*Harleian Miscellany IV 386; Macaria.

²Written before but published after the execution of Charles I.

take it from the... He shows that the new republic rests on a firm historical foundation; it is not only genuinely English, but genuinely protestant as well.

Milton's interests during these seemingly quiet years and the plans that had grown out of them bear a notable resemblance to the general plans of Hartlib's group of friends in their national, educational and religious import ; the perfecting of a Latin grammar, the construction of a system of Christian theology based entirely on the Bible, the completion of the history of the English people, of which four books were already written, and in which there breaks forth the strong patriotic feeling of the old Saxons, in the contention that the Norman conquest was never a real subjugation of the spirit of the people. All these plans were changed by Milton's sudden and unexpected call to public life (in March 1649) as secretary of foreign languages to the Commonwealth. His predecessor in this office under Charles I had been Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, a talented German living in England since 1624, member of the Akademie zur Tanne^{*}; a friend of Hartlib, Haak, Pell and Dury.² Later Weckherlin was reappointed as Milton's assistant. Haak seems also at times to have been of service to the foreign secretary in translating documents into Dutch.³

One of the most influential men with whom Milton was now associated was Sir Henry Vane. He was an idealist like Milton, likewise filled with the hope that a happy era had now dawned for England.

*C. G. IV 76.

²Stern 26.

³Same 27. Interested in Dury's plans at least since 1634. See Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 245, p.76.

Their agreement regarding the offices of church and state Milton celebrates in his sonnet to Vane:

"to know

Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learned, which few have done;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore, on thy firm hand religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

Vane's devotion to public service and freedom from corruption were as well known as his great ability. But even his contemporaries found it difficult to understand his religious views and his mystical enthusiasm exposed him to the reproach of fanaticism and to a like notoriety with Milton of having a sect named after him. Vane was tolerant of all sects*, and more particularly attracted to the Quakers.²

Another friend whose devotion to kindred ideals must have influenced Milton's views on the great problems that parliament and Cromwell with his soldiers had been trying to solve was Roger Williams. In 1631 Williams had emigrated to America and been chosen pastor of the congregation of Salem. He was cruelly driven from the colony however because he demanded unconditioned religious freedom and a complete separation of church and state, with equal rights even for Jews and heretics. His extraordinary energy of religious interest found expression in his many pamphlets and treatises. "To destroy a single soul through false teaching," he maintained, "is a worse crime than to disperse a whole parliament or to slay an entire nation."³ He founded Providence, 1636, and with a conscientiousness rare in English colonists paid the Indians for their land.⁴ Other

*Dic. Nat. Biog. XX 123.

²Stern III 221.

³Baillie-Letters II 397.

⁴Weingarten 37.

fugitives brought to this colony baptist ideas, which Williams adopted. Soon however he found their teachings insufficient and left ^{their} congregation never to join another church because he awaited further enlightenment regarding the essence of the true church of God. In this he became an exponent of the ideas at the very root of independency and a significant forerunner of quakerism. His doctrine of the "sovereign original and foundation of Civil Power in the People" appeared in his pamphlets scattered broadcast in England before the outbreak of the Civil War. He speaks of his association with Milton during his second visit to England in 1651-2: "The Secretary of the Council Mr. Milton for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages."^{*} Roger Williams "very probably acquired the Dutch tongue and with it some of the principles which characterize his life's work" from the Dutch colonists who were scattered throughout the southern and eastern counties of England and in London, the descendants of those who sought a refuge in England when Charles V. began his persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands."²

"Eikonoklastes", 1649, and the first and second "Defense of the People of England", 1649 and 1654, express with prophetic ardor Milton's most finished ideas of the unconditioned sovereignty of the people. In "Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," 1659, he works out his idea of absolute religious freedom and congregational church autonomy, a toleration extended to all Christian sects, among which however Catholics are for state reasons not included, since their religious and political tenets are inseparable.

^{*} Narragansett Club Publications VI 258. Letters of Roger Williams

² Straus: Roger Williams 181.

The change in Milton's sympathy during these years from the presbyterian to the congregational viewpoint is clearly paralleled by the progress of events in the stirring times in which he lived. A further development of his inner life along lines of enthusiastic religion is equally true to his time, but less fully taken into account by his biographers. This is nowhere more clearly apparent than in the growth of his conception of the poet. In his early poetry, "the relation of the Muse or Muses to the poet, as it appears in Milton, is much the same as that in Homer, Hesiod and the later poets and imitators."^x In the poems "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (l.15) and "The Passion" (l.4) he addresses the Heavenly Muse. In "Lycidas" (l.15) he invokes the

"sisters of the sacred well

That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring"
and "in imitation of Vergil or Moschus,"^x bids the "Sicilian Muse" return (l.133). In "Il Penseroso" (l.47) he

"hears the Muses in a ring

Aye round about Jove's altar sing."

Imagination has now the office which later he gives to inspiration:

"Befriend me night, best patroness of grief,

Over the pole thy thickest mantle throw,

And work my flattered fancy to belief,

Through Heaven and Earth are coloured with my woe."

(Passion ll.29-32.)

"To our high-raised fantasy present

That undisturbed song." (Solemn Music ll.5-6.)

*Osgood: Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems 57.

"Then thou our fancy of itself bereaving
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving."

(Shakespeare 13, 14)

In his early prose writings we find him including in the general puritan belief in the inspiration of ministers of the gospel the possible inspiration of poets as well. On an equality with ministers he places the poet whose "abilities are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of the pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; . . . to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almighty ness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church. . . Nor (is this gift) to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."^{*} In his later poetry we find, along with many references to the traditional Muses, his final conception of the poet as a truly inspired oracle whose Muse is the Holy Spirit of God. We will return later to this point.

The change in religious sympathy comes out in the "Eikonoklastes." Milton expresses his objection to set forms of prayer, in which all the sectarians and separatists were agreed: "This is evident, that they "who use no set forms of prayer," have words from their affec-

*Prose Works II 479. Reason of Church Government.

tions; while others are to seek affections fit and proportionable to a certain dose of prepared words; which as they are not rigorously forbid to any man's private infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a pinfold of set words, those two most unimprisonable things, our prayers, and that divine spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands than those giants who threatened bondage to heaven."* "God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men more truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar."² The Scriptures become more and more Milton's final authority. He reminds parliament of their profession "to assert only the true protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures" and he asserts "that we can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the Scriptures."³ In his later years moreover Milton carried out his early plan of formulating for himself a system of Christian doctrine from the Scriptures alone. He advocates likewise dependence on the "inner light", willingly submitting his fallible reason to the sure information afforded by celestial light. "The gospel (is) to be interpreted only by the sense of charity and inward persuasion."⁴ "No protestant therefore, of what sect soever, followign Scriptures only, which is the common sect wherein they all agree, and the granted rules of every man's conscience to himself, ought by the common doctrine of protestants to be forced or molested for religion."⁵ "God compels by the inward persuasive motions of his spirit."⁶ Any man may become a min-

* Prose Works I 431, Eikonoklastes.

² Same I 462.

³ Same II 521, 523 Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes

⁴ Same II 537.

⁵ Prose Works II 532 Treatise of Civil Power etc.

⁶ Same 538.

ister of God, since "the Gospel makes no difference from the magistrate himself to the meanest artificer, if God evidently favour him with spiritual gifts."^{*} "It is a fond error, though too much believed among us, that the university makes a minister of the gospel."² Moreover, it was for no lifeless belief in the Scriptures that Milton was insisting; far more important than the outer word was the inner word of the Spirit. This is the point in which the poet was inseparably linked to what was, since 1644, the fundamental thought of independency.³

In addition to unscriptural views on predestination and election Milton has been accused of heterodox teachings regarding the divinity of Christ, in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and most of all, in the *Christian Doctrine*.⁴ The expressions in his earlier works regarding the Trinity are unquestionably orthodox.

"That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
 And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,
 Wherewith He wont at Heaven's high council-table
 To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
 He laid aside."⁵

"Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, Thee I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant, whose nature Thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And Thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! One Tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost

^{*} Prose Works III 40. Consideration how to Remove Hirelings etc.

² Same III 36.

³ Weingarten 82.

⁴ Todd: Milton 323.

⁵ Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.

spent and expiring Church." *

These changes in Milton's views are accompanied by his changed attitude toward the "visible church". Bishop Newton remarks "that in the latter part of his life Milton was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, that he frequented no publick worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution which he said was a piece of popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he did not look upon himself inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies; it is not easy to determine: to his own master he standeth or falleth: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior."² It has been suggested that Milton's blindness and other infirmities might be in part his excuse for frequenting no place of public worship. Certain it is that his daily employments were always ushered in by devout meditation and study of the Scriptures.

Such a life of religious meditation, however, of regard for the interior of religion and disregard for its outer forms, of Quietistic contemplation, is what was developed in the sectarian life of England after Cromwell's final assumption of the authority that had rested with the "Parliament of Saints"; it is the religious life we should expect of a student of Jacob Böhme. Such were the lives of

* Prose Works II 417. Of Reformation in England.

² Todd 333.

the Quakers, the philadelphists, the members of the "theosophical rosicrucian brotherhood" that emigrated to Pennsylvania. Such were the religious convictions of Milton's friend Roger Williams, with whom he may even have read Böhme's writings in Dutch, since the most of them came out very early in that language. Todd suggests, as an explanation of the change of view in Milton's later writings, that "he drank largely perhaps from the turbid streams" of the "Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland and dispersed in England."^{*} Such were the convictions likewise of Henry Vane, of whom a modern critic suggests that he was probably influenced by the writings of Jacob Böhme.² Milton might have seen copies of Böhme's works in German, brought to England by fugitives from the Thirty Years' War. There is no evidence that the poet included among his linguistic accomplishments the ability to read German.³ Dr. Pagit, Milton's physician and friend, intimate likewise in the household of the Quaker Isaac Pennington, recommended the young Quaker Thomas Ellwood,⁴ who read to the blind poet and to whom is ascribed the suggestion that resulted in *Paradise Regained*. Milton's large circle of German friends moreover were the practical carriers of many ideas that Böhme embodied in his philosophy.

Among the comparatively few state papers that Milton preserved and prepared for publication from his secretaryship^A is an address to parliament in 1653 by Mr. Samuel Herring, which shows in the matters suggested for the "honorable considerations" of the members a striking similarity to Milton's views: "That it may be lawfull for all men, of what degree or quality soever, to teach the word, according to there light, and the

^{*}Todd: Life of Milton 322.

²Dic. Nat. Biog.: Vane, quotes T.H. Green Works III 295.

³Stern III 31.

⁴Masson VI 469.

spirit's illumination, and to settle themselves in the ministry, giving good testimony of there inward call thereunto by the spirit. That liberty of conscience, in matters of religion, should be freely granted to all people, provided they submitt, and shall live quietly and peaceably, under the government of this Commonwealth; for religion is soe difficult and tender, that it is beyond man's reach, rightly to judge of it. That all possible meanes should be used for uniting the clergie throughout the land into one universall body, soe that they should lay asyde all there writing bookes and disputations; they should only labour after unity, peace and concord. That two colledges in each university, shall be sett apart for such as shall wholly and solely apply themselves to the studdy of attaining and enjoying the spirit of our Lord Jesus, to which study needs few bookes, or outward humane helps (for all lyeth in man's willinge and yeeldinge himselfe up to his inward teacher) soe that only the holy scriptures would be sufficient, but that the noble mind of man soaringe beyond the letter, or rule held out from the same, therefore the workes of Jacob Behmen, and such like, who had true revelation from the true spirit, would be great furtherance thereunto; and mone but the holy scriptures, and such bookes aforesaid, should be used in thse colledges, all in English. This study rightly attained, would confute and confound the pride and vaine glory of outward humane learning, strong reason, and high astrall parts, and would shew men the true ground and depth of all things; for it would lead men into the true nothings, in which they may behold and speculate all things, to a clear satisfaction and contentndnesse."*

Would it have been possible for Milton to have heard no mention of Böhme, not among his German friends who shared Böhme's progressive

*State Papers 99, 100.

ideas, nor among his religious friends, whose doctrines were supported by Böhme's teachings, nor among his political friends, in whose army Böhme was read? Through his connections with the academy spirit of his time, with the movement of independency and of religious toleration, Milton was unconsciously preparing for an interest in Böhme, whom he might have come across in English or German any time after 1644. It will be our task in the next part of this paper to show that such an interest really existed.

THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN MILTON AND BOHÉM
IN THEIR RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS
AS SHOWN IN MILTON'S PARADISE LOST, PARADISE REGAINED
AND CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

Interpreters of Milton agree that he was not exclusively either Platonic, Hellenic, Hebraic, medieval or modern, yet so strong has been the traditional belief in his classicism that the other formative elements of his lifework have hardly received just appreciation. Any discussion of the Hebraic and medieval elements has overlooked their fusion in the new humanism of the seventeenth century that transformed the curious interest in the individual into a reverent love for the race. If Milton "is not in the narrower sense either classicist or romanticist," what facts really explain his evident sympathy for two such widely differing views of the universe? His poetry exemplifies the necessary relation of a definite philosophic purpose to art; his imagination is inspired only to raise the soul of man to ever higher purpose and endeavor. It is this breadth and clarity of vision that separates him from the brilliant achievements of men of the Renaissance, to whom his enormous store of classical learning so closely relates him. To the intellectuality of true classicism he added not only a deep and reverent interest in each human being but also an implicit faith in the inherent power of all humanity to develop and press forward according to the eternal truths which lie around and above this life and through which all things act, not in contradiction as men sometimes suppose, but in an

eternal, all-inclusive harmony. The intimate relation of this teaching to life itself was Milton's legacy to after-times; it had been Böhme's legacy to Milton. In becoming secretary to the commonwealth Milton had identified himself with the movement of democracy; he was willing to stake his life in becoming officially associated with that man of the people, Oliver Cromwell. The people's great prophet of democracy was Böhme. In this excited time, saturated with the feeling of democracy and its hopes, this simple, sincere man of the people, shoemaker, tradesman, seemed, like Christ and the apostles, their own God-inspired prophet. Some of Böhme's ideas were absolutely expressive of the popular feeling--ideas of opposition to a university-made clergy, to unjust princes, to war, ideas of feeling as the basis of religious life, of true regeneration, of the inner light. There was of course very much in Böhme that these ardent disciples never grasped and made no attempt to understand. But Milton penetrated into Böhme's philosophy, beneath the veil of language that obscured his meaning, and became one of the first to share Böhme's true "Weltanschauung."

The acceptance of the belief in the inner light and the conception of the divinely inspired poet marks the change in spirit and method between Milton's earlier and later poetry. The poet has become a man inspired of God; in his blindness seeing, because dependent wholly upon the guidance of the inner light:

"So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight." P. L. III 51-55.

His Muse is the Holy Spirit, the
 "Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
 Of Oreb or of Sinai didst inspire
 That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
 In the beginning how the heavens and earth
 Rose out of Chaos." P. L. I 6-10.

"Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremitte
 Into the desert, his victorious field
 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
 By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
 As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute." P.R. I 8-12.

This poet feels the community of truth in the disparate elements of Hellenism and Christianity, but with a consistency greater than in the earlier poems, ascribes to all the Ionian gods and their oracles a close relationship with the powers of evil. A consciousness of his lofty mission adds, in the later poems, a certain conciseness and severity to the sensuously beautiful descriptions of the earlier poems.

A first evidence of Milton's interest in Böhme is his choice of the full subject of his great poems "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained." Much has been written, undoubtedly with fidelity to truth, regarding an indebtedness to Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, Andreini's "Adamo", Hugo Grotius' "Adamus Exul", Michael Angelo's pictured story of Adam and Eve in the Sistine chapel at Rome and various other works on the same theme. In the fall of Lucifer, the creation of the earth and the fall of the first human beings Milton was treating one of the most popular subjects of his time. The theme was fresh in the popular mind in dramatic form from the litur-

gial plays of the middle ages. It had been written in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and English. That does not tell, however, how Milton really came to choose this particular theme. We know of his plans for a national epic or poem from British legendary history from the "*Mansus*" (1.78) and the "*Epitaphium Damonis*" (ll.155-178) written 1639. In 1641^{*} he questions "what king or knight, before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero" and suggests that the Scriptures also afford subjects, in the Song of Solomon and the Apocalypse of St. John. Also sketches from about the same time for a tragedy "*Paradise Lost*" are preserved.² The epic, which incorporated some of these early speeches, was begun about 1658 and finished about 1663.³ Was it because Milton was "on evil days though fallen and evil tongues", that his work presents as its theme the origin and final overthrow of evil? In all of Böhme's larger works and in most of his pamphlets and epistles, the central theme, more or less elaborately worked out, is the origin of evil, not evil as confined to our human experience alone, but of evil as a factor in the whole universe, its origin and final overthrow. In nearly every case he gives his own highly poetic and imaginative yet philosophical account of the fall of Lucifer followed by the fall of Adam and Eve; the three are as inseparable in his mind as they are fundamental ~~ix~~^{to} to the origin of evil in our world. In Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Regained* there is not the mere story of the exile of Adam and Eve from the happy garden of Eden, but a poetic and philosophical discussion of the nature of God, the creation of the universe and the mundane sphere, the origin of evil, the creation, fall and restoration of mankind--the subject matter, in fact, of all of Böhme's writings. In these two poems

* Prose Works II 478,479. ²Stern II 21. ³Stern IV 49.

and the "Christiar Doctrine" there is presented an almost complete system of philosophical and theclogical truth. We have Milton's views on Cod---Father, Son and Holy Spirit, prima materia, creation of angels, origin o1 evil, creation and fall of man and place of punishment. This order will be followed in discussing the similarity between the views of Milton and Böhme on these subjects.

Milton thinks of the Godhead not so much as a personal God but as an abstract Power from whom all things proceed. He is manifested as the eternal Will, (C.D.I 170), "the will and high permission of all-ruling Heaven"(P.L.I 211): "That the will of God is the first cause of all things, is not intended to be denied, but his prescience and wisdom must not be separated from his will, much less considered as subsequent to the latter in point of time. The will of God, in fine, is not less the universal first cause, because he has himself decreed that some things should be left to our own free will, than if each particular event had been decreed necessarily," (C.D.I 39). The desire for self-expression resulted in the creation of the universe. This creation was not out of nothing (C.D.I 179) but out of the essence of God:

"one Almighty is, from whom

All things proceed, and up to him return,

If not depraved from good, created all

To such perfection; one first matter all,

Endued with various forms, various degrees

Of substance, and, in things that live, of life." P.L.V 469

There is no empty space, for God said

"Boundless the deep , because I am who fill

Infinitude; nor vacuous the space,

Though I, uncircumscribed, myself retire,

And put not forth my goodness, which is free

To act or not. Necessity and Chance

Approach not me, and what I will is Fate." P.L. VII 168

This boundless space is called the "Abyss vast, immeasurable",
the "unreal, vast, unbounded Deep."

"The secrets of the hoary Deep--a dark

Illimitable ocean, without bound,

Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,

And time, and place, are lost." P.L. II 891.

The conception of the Abyss is personified, under the figures
of "unoriginal Night and Chaos wild":

"where eldest night

And chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold

Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise

Of endless wars, and by confusion stand." P.L. II 894.

"this wild Abyss,

The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,

Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,

But all these in their pregnant causes mixed

Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight." P.L. II 910

"the wide womb of uncreated Night,

Devoid of sense and notion." P.L. II 151.

Since Nature is created a part of God, "God and Nature bid the same", P.L.VI 174, and "God is all in all" III 341.

According to Böhme God is pure uncorporeal spirit, the power, potentiality and eternal foundation of all existence. "Men cannot say of God, that he is this or that evil or good, which hath distinction in itself, for he is in himself natureless, as also affectionless and creatureless. He hath no inclination to anything, for

there is nothing before him to which he should incline, neither any evil or good. He is in himself the Abyss, without any will at all; in respect of nature and creature, he is as an Eternal Nothing. . . . He is the nothing and all things; and is one only will, in which lieth the world and whole creation."¹ "God is to be considered, as to what he is, without nature and creature in himself, in a self-comprehensible Chaos, without ground, time and place."² This Chaos is the "Mysterium Magnum," out of which light and darkness, ~~xxxix~~^{xxxviii} and ~~xxxi~~^{xxxi} that is the foundation of Heaven and Hell, is shown from eternity and made manifest, a chaos, because good and evil arise out of it, viz. light and darkness, life and death, joy and grief, salvation and damnation."³ This eternal foundation of all being is to be understood as eternal will with a desire for self-comprehension, self-expression through its own existence. "The first only will, without a beginning, begets in itself a comprehensible will which is Son to the Abyssal Will, when the nothing makes within itself into a something wherein the Abyss conceives (forms) itself into a Byss, and the issue of the Abyssal Will through the conceived Son is called Spirit; and that which is issued is the delight wherein the Father ever finds and beholds Son and Spirit, and it is called God's Wisdom, or contemplation.⁴ Therein lie all things as a divine Imagination, wherein all ideas of angels and souls are seen eternally in divine likeness, not as creatures, but as a reflection; as when a man beholds himself in a mirror."⁵ Böhme thus marks the division of

¹ Election, ch. 1.4-8. See Thre: Prin. ch. 4.31-46, Myst. magn. ch. 1, 2.

² Election, ch. 1.20

³ Clavis 48, 50.

~~Myst. magn. ch. 7.6 & 9-12.~~

⁴ Election ch. 1.10-17.

⁵ Clavis 43.

this Spirit into Father, Son and Spirit^{*} but as he elsewhere names them, the father as wrath-fire, the son as light of love and the spirit as the living power and virtue of both, do not approach very near to the Christian conception of the Trinity. It is in his relation to man as mediator and redeemer that Christ, Böhme's "second principle," seems first to gain a distinct personality and here he becomes a subordinate power, obedient to God. "Behold the innocent man Christ was set in our stead, in the anger of the Father; he must reconcile not only all that which Adam had made himself guilty of, by his going forth from paradise into the kingdom of this world, and so fell foully in the presence of God and was scorned of all the devils; but he must make atonement for all that which was done afterwards and which is still done or will be done by us."² The Holy Spirit or third principle fashions the world for which the first, Word or second principle contributes the material; it comes to reality and activity only in the creation of the world³ and is that "in which the seven properties of nature introduce themselves into a substance"⁴-- corporeal nature.

While Christ is spoken of by Milton as if he were "very God" he is nevertheless not on an equality with God the Father; the conception of Godhead as a Triune manifestation of the same essence is not mentioned in "Paradise Lost." In the "Christian Doctrine" (I 79-81) the internal efficiency or will of God is contrasted with the "external efficiency or generation whereby God in pursuance of his decree, . . . has begotten his only Son" by whom afterward all other things were made in heaven and earth"; the Father and Son are different persons. Christ had a definite temporal beginning,

^{*}Myst. Magn. ch. 7.6-8,9-12.

²Three Prin. ch.25.52

³Three Prin. ch.9.33,36.

⁴Election ch.4,10-19.

"of all creation first,
 Begotten Son, divine similitude,
 In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
 Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
 Whom else no creature can behold." P.L. III 383.
 "This day have I begot whom I declare
 My only Son." P.L. V 603.

To the Son "all regal power is given" V 739. Christ's statement "I and my Father are one" means one, "not in essence, but in love, in communion, in agreement, in charity, in spirit, in glory", (C.D. I 92.). "Christ could never have become a mediator, nor could he have been sent from God, or have been obedient to him, unless he had been inferior to God and the Father as to his nature", (C.D. I 114).

The Holy Spirit is spoken of as the Comforter who shall dwell within men", (P.L. XII 498); the Spirit of God, promised alike and given to all believers, (XII 519). He it is who inspires the poet; he is the inner light, the light celestial in man. Yet he is not God; for, "although the Holy Spirit be nowhere said to have taken upon himself any mediatorial functions, as is said of Christ, nor to be engaged by the obligations of a filial relation to pay obedience to the Father, yet he must evidently be considered as inferior to both Father and Son, inasmuch as he is represented and declared to be subservient and obedient in all things", (C.D. I 158). "He was created or produced by the substance of God, not by a natural necessity, but by the free will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son and far inferior to him", (C.D. I 169). Such, then, is the Godhead out of whom as well as by whom the universe was created. With Böhme this entire creation

depends upon the principle that "if everything were only one, that one could not be revealed to itself."^{*} When there is to be light, there must first be a fire; fire bears the light and the light reveals the fire to itself.² Thus wrath can become apparent only through love, and love only through wrath.³ So there is in God an eternal contrariety or opposition of forces, through the interaction of which "eternal nature" or the universe evolves. "All things consist in Yes or No, whether Godly, Devilish, earthly, or whatsoever it may be called. The One, as the Yes, is pure power and life, and is the truth of God, or God himself. But God would be unknowable to himself, and would have in himself no joy, perception or exaltation without the No. The No is the opposite to the Yes or the truth. In order that the truth may be manifest as a Something, there must be a contrariety therein."⁴ This our world, "with all that belongs to it, as well as man, is created as an out-birth, out of the eternal nature: and God hath created it for no other cause, but that he would, in his eternal wisdom, manifest the wonders which are in the eternal nature."⁵

The angels, a part of the even balance and harmony existing in God, "were created in the first principle, and enlightened from the light of God, that they might increase the paradisical joy and abide therein eternally. All they do is an increasing of the heavenly joy, and a delight and pleasure to the Heart of God, a holy sport in paradise; to this end God created them, that he might be manifested and rejoice in his creatures and the creatures in him."⁶

* 177 Theos. Quest. 3.6

² Myst. Magn. ch. 40.3

³ Myst. Magn. ch. 4.19, ch. 5.7, ch. 8-10, 27.

⁴ 177 Theos. Quest. ch. 3.2, 4.

⁵ Threefold Life ch. 3.40.

⁶ Three Prin. ch. 4.65-66

The angels of "Paradise Lost",

"sons of light, with songs

And choral symphonies, day without night

Circle his throne rejoicing." V 161.

"Solemn days they spend

In song and dance about the sacred hill." V 648.

"They eat, they drink and in communion sweet

Quaff immortality and joy." V 637.

And "as they please

They limb themselves and colour, shape or size

Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare." VI 351.

Böhme's angels are "all of them together a fitted Instrument
of the eternal spirit of God in his joy."^{*} Some angelical prince begins in his rank or file a round, with his legions, with singing, sounding forth, dancing, rejoicing and jubilating. This is heavenly music, for here every one sings according to his quality, and the king rejoices and jubilates with his angels, to the honour of the great God, and to the increasing and multiplying of the heavenly joys, and that is in the Heart of God as a holy sport or play.² "When the heavenly music of the angels rises up, there rise up all manner of figures, shapes or ideas and all manner of colours. The angels are of various manifold qualities and have several colours and beauties."³ They are not corporeal, but of a bright clear visible sub-

~~Threefold Life ch. 3.40~~

~~Three Prin. ch. 4.65-66.~~

*Election ch. 4.48

²Aurora ch. 12.32-33.

³Aurora ch. 12.34, 60.

stance, as if it were material.* In heaven they sing the "paradisi-cal songs of praise concerning the pleasant fruit in paradise which groweth in the divine power. Can this be no joy and rejoicing? And should not that be a pleasant thing, with the many thousand sorts of angels to eat heavenly bread, and to rejoice in their communion and fellowship?"²

So far there is no evil in the universe. Evil is not in God and is not willed by God. But the visible world, evolved from God's eternal nature, a shadow of heaven,³ is manifestly not wholly good. This is due to the fall of the angel Lucifer. This angel was "a prince and king over many legions, but he became a devil and hath lost the beautiful, bright and glorious image. For he, as well as other angels, was created out of the eternal nature, out of the eternal indissoluble band, and hath also stood in paradise, also felt and seen the working of the holy Deity, the birth of the second principle (Christ)⁴, of the Heart of God, and the confirmation of the Holy Ghost; his food should have been of the Word of the Lord, and therein he should have continued an angel. But he saw that he was a prince, standing in the first principle, and so despised the birth of the Heart of God (Christ), and the soft and very lovely influence thereof, and meant to be a very potent and terrible lord; he despised the meekness of the Heart of God. He would not set his imagination therein, and therefore he could not be fed from the Word of the Lord, and so his light went out, whereupon presently he became a loathsome-ness in paradise, and was spewed out of his princely throne, with all his legions that stuck to him. He also presently lost the image of

*Three Prin. ch.9.18.

²Same, ch.10. 15,16.

³P. L. V 574-6, Election ch.5.50-52.

⁴In P. L. the Father announces his only begotten Son to the An-gels, among whom is Lucifer. V 603

God. Thus all things departed from him and he remained in the valley of darkness. He is shut up in the fire of the first principle, and yet he raiseth himself up continually, thinking to reach the Heart of God and to domineer over it. His climbing up in his will is his fall and the more he climbeth up in his will, the greater is his fall."* The second principle is extinguished in him; his being is out of "temperature" or harmony. The fire and light, the wrath and love were balanced until Lucifer exalted self, opposed God and became shut up in the principle of fire-wrath. Lucifer and his angels had free-will before their fall²; afterward they were obliged by their nature to do only evil.³

This explanation of the origin of evil does not accord very closely to the usual orthodox Christian explanation. The fact is noted that Eve was tempted by a fallen angel, but the real entrance of evil into the world is through the fall of Adam and Eve. In Böhme's teaching strong emphasis is laid upon the fact that Lucifer's malice and envy brought woe into this world. In Lucifer's fall evil does not however become an autonomous force. God plans to make evil serve good, out of evil to create good.⁴ Hence He can create man in Lucifer's stead, even though foreknowing that Adam will fall a victim to the same self-will that destroyed the proud angel. "When Lucifer fell, he was thrust out into the first principle; and then the throne

* Three Prin. ch.4.65-71.

² Threefold Life ch.8.43

³ Three Prin. ch.5.30. Compare P.L.I 159-162:

"but of this be sure--

To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to His high will
Whom we resist."

4.

(The apostate's) evil

Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good. P.L.VII 615

in the second principle was empty. In the same principle God created man,^{*} who should continue therein, and should be tempted to try whether that were possible; and to that end it was that God created the third principle (the Holy Spirit), in the place of this world, that man also (in the fall) might not become a devil, but that he might be helped again. Therefore the enmity of the devil against Christ is because he sitteth upon his royal throne. Thus the place of this world is the throne and body of our Christ; and all is his own also; and the devil is our Christ's captive.^{"2} For the kingdom of darkness must also have creatures. They are all profitable and useful to God.^{"3}

Satan, "as he is called in heaven," hated man as well as Christ; having been himself a prince and Hierarch in the place of this world, and cast out for his pride, he envied man the glory of being created in and for the spiritual world, the place which he himself once possessed.^{"4} Milton's Lucifer exclaims

"behold instead
Of us outcast, his new delight,
Mankind ~~created~~, and for him this world." P.L.IV 105.
Lucifer was "With envy seized
At sight of all this world beheld so fair." III 552.
"Thus while he spake, each passion dimmed his face
Thrice changed with pale ire, evny and despair."
IV 113.⁵

*Compare P.L.VII 186 "to him

Glory and praise whose wisdom had ordained
Good out of evil to create---instead
Of spirits malign, a better race to bring
Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
His good to worlds and ages infinite." Also XII 470.

²Three Prin. ch.25.103-4.

³Electio ch.6.176.

⁴Regeneration ch.2.46. Also Myst. Magn.ch.25.19, ch.17.31.

⁵See also P.L. I 34, VI 898.

The clear cut and distinct individuality of Milton's Satan that has led to the assertion that he is the hero of Paradise Lost is likewise characteristic of Böhme's Satan. The archangel Michael thus addresses Satan at the time of the war in heaven:

"How hast thou instilled
 Thy malice into thousands, once upright
 And faithful, now proved false! But think not here
 To trouble holy rest; Heaven casts thee out
 From her confines; Heaven, the seat of bliss,
 Brooks not the works of violence and war.
 Hence, then, and evil go with thee along,
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,---
 Thou and thy wicked crew!" P.L.VI 269-277.

With this compare Böhme's words to Satan (Four Complexions ch.3.63) "Whence comest thou, thou black wretch? I thought thou hadst been in Heaven, among the angels; how comest thou to be expelled from thence, and loaded with the register or catalogue of God's anger? I thought thou hadst been a prince in God; how art thou then become his executioner? Is so fair an angel become a base executioner? Fye upon thee; what hast thou to do with me? Away to the angels in Heaven, if thou are God's servant. Fye on thee, avaunt hence, thou servile executioner of God's wrath: Go to thine own angels; thou hast nothing to do here." *

*This same comparison was found in the course of my study on this subject in a work by Julius Otto Opel (1864) on Valentin Weigel, the mystic whose works Böhme read. With no idea of the spread of Böhme's works in England or of the historical connection of the two men, Opel makes the following striking statement in a note, p.239: "Only Milton is to be compared with Böhme. Klopstock, in spite of his Messias, was of an entirely different nature. Böhme is likewise a religious and political Puritan, even if less noticeably as regards the latter side. It would give me great pleasure to compare the two writers, particularly from the aspect of their religious-philosophical views. Whole songs from Milton's Paradise Lost seem to find expression in Böhme's poetic prose. An assumption that Milton knew Böhme's writings, or at least similar tracts of German enthusiasts, must be given due consideration, although, so far as I know, it has not been brought forward."

A study of the means used by Satan in bringing about the downfall of his hated successors opens up another of Böhme's fundamental conceptions. The imagination plays a great role in his thought. It is the power or faculty through which the will, accompanied by strong desire, effects any creation or change. "We apprehend the divine essence through the imagination."^{*} "Sin maketh not itself but the will maketh it; it cometh from the imagination into the spirit."² Lucifer's own fall was brought about by his imagination; when he set his will and desire upon his own elevation.³ In like manner Adam's imagination brought him into sin.⁴ Similarly Milton says:

"The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-depraved; man falls deceived
By the other first; man therefore shall find grace,
The other, none." P.L.III 129.

Satan first attempts to poison Eve's imagination through a dream:

" him there they found
Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams.
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
The animal spirits,... thence raise ...
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires." P.L. IV 799.

Böhme says that man "is often like a toad, whose mind is so very venomous, that it poisoneth a tender or weak mind to the temporal death by its imagination."⁵

^{*}Incarnation pt.1, ch.6.14. Epistle 5.10,13.

²Forty Ques.no.15.4. ³Incarriage pt.1, ch.2.28.

⁴Same, pt.1, ch.4.60. ⁵Three Prin. ch.17.31.

According to Böhme's account Adam and Eve were tainted in their imagination before the actual sin of eating the apple. At least a hint of this seems expressed in Adam's half fatherly, half scholastic discourse to ~~God~~ Eve upon her dream; he seems already to know evil:

"Best image of myself, and dearer half,
 The trouble of my thoughts this night in sleep
 Affects me equally; nor can I like ~~This~~
 This uncouth dream --- of evil sprung, I fear;
 Yet evil whence? In thee can harbour none,
 Created pure. But know that in the soul
 Are many lesser faculties, that serve
 Reason as chief. Among these Fancy next
 Her office holds; of all external things
 Which the five watchful senses represent
 She forms imaginations, airy shapes
 Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
 All what we affirm or what deny, and call
 Our knowledge or opinion ... Yet be not sad;
 Evil into the mind of God or man
 May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
 No spot or blame behind." P.L. V 95.

Satan's second and unsuccessful attempt to gain control of Eve through her imagination is when, in the form of a serpent, repeating the flattering words that he caused her to dream (V78) he tells her that she should "be seen a Goddess among Gods", (IX 547).

"These, these and many more
 Causes import your need of this fair fruit.
 Goddes humane, reach, then, and freely taste.

He ended; and his words, replete with guile,
 Into her heart too easy entrance won.
 Fixed on the fruit she gazed; which to behold
 Might tempt alone; and in her ears the sound
 Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregned
 With reason, to her seeming, and with truth." P.L.IX 730-38

Böhme tells the same story in fewer words: "for the devil said the fruit would not hurt, but the eyes of her sharp understanding would be opened, and they should be as God; this Eve liked very well, that she should be a Goddess and wholly consented thereto; and in this full consent she fell from the divine harmony."^x

Various results of man's fall are similar in Böhme and Milton. Whereas before there had been "eternal spring" (P.L. IV 268, X 679) and "Spring and Autumn danced together hand in hand" (V 394) now "the air must suffer change" (X 212)

"the sun

Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tolerable; and from the north to call
 Decrepit ~~night~~^{night} winter; from the south to bring
 Solstitial summer's heat." (X 651)²

Böhme says that "no heat nor cold had touched them if Adam had not fallen; there had also no winter been manifest upon the earth, for in paradise there was an equal temperature.³ But they fell and heat and cold seized upon them.⁴ The fall "Caused the earth to trem-

^x Myst. Magn. ch.20.25

² See also P.L. X 687, 1056.

³ Myst. Magn. ch.18.13.

⁴ Epistle X.9. Regeneration ch.2.61, ch.3.68. Incarnation, pt.1, ch.2, 53.

ble, whereby the earth trembled also in the death of Christ and the rocks cleaved in sunder." "And here the Heaven in man trembled for horror; as the earth quaked in wrath when his anger was destroyed on the cross by the sweet love of God." In *Paradise Lost*,

"So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she ate.

Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost." P.L. IX 780.

"Earth trembled from her entrails as again
In pangs, and nature gave a second groan;
Sky lowred; and muttering thunder some sad drops
Wept, at completing of the mortal sin
Original." IX 1000

Still further beliefs regarding the nature of mankind are similar. Both writers had faith in decided influence of the stars upon all life:³ Böhme affirms that "the stars or constellations operate in man, and afford him the senses"; Milton speaks of the "sweet influence of the Pleiades" (P.L. VII 374) and the "happy constellations" (VIII 512). Böhme personifies the divine element in humanity as the "divine virgin of wisdom", who controls all inspiration and knowledge of God in the human heart.⁴ Milton represents the Holy Spirit as conversing with Eternal Wisdom in his invocation of the Holy Spirit as his Muse:

³ *Threefold Life* ch.14.46. *Three Prin.* CH.15.26. P.L. X 660, IV 671.

⁴ *Three Prin.* ch.4.28.

⁵ *Threefold Life* ch.5.41-45, ch.6.78. *Three Prin.* ch.14.12, 85-87.

* *Myst. Magn.* ch.23.3.

² *Regeneration* ch.3.69.

"Descend from Heaven, Urania, by that name
 If rightly thou art called, whose voice divine
 Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
 Above the flight of Pegasean wing !
 The meaning, not the name, I call; for thou
 Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
 Of old Olympus dwellst; but heaven-born,
 Before the hills appeared or fountain flowed,
 Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse,
 Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play
 In presence of the Almighty Father, pleased
 With thy celestial song." P.L. VII 1-12.

The exultation of the devil over man's fall (P.L. X 460-67, Three Prin.ch.17.63) and Satan's shame at his own fall (P.L. IV 42-45, IX 163-167, Election ch.4.117-119) do not make hell any the more pleasant to them. The fire is still "immortal and eternal"^{*} and cannot consume the "imperishable heavenly essences"² of Satan's angels, fallen though they are. They dwell on in "darkness visible",³

"void of light

Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful";⁴ or in darkness absolute,
 their light only what shineth from their fiery eyes, like the glimmering of a flash of fire⁵, according to Böhme. Satan does not beat and torment his children, as some teach; "they must do his will, and the anguish and horror of hell plague every one of them sufficiently in their own abominations."⁶ These children of Satan "lost their beauteous form and image and became like serpents, dragons, worms and

*Three Prin. ch.10.47. ²P.L. I 138, II 99. ³P.L. I 63.

⁴P.L. I 180.

⁵Forty Ques. no.34.1. ⁶Same no.18.25.

evil beasts", as soon as the divine light was completely extinguished in them. Satan and his angels become on a sudden a crowd of hissing snakes, after the temptation and fall of the happy pair has been accomplished.²

In spite of the poetic necessity of giving hell a definite location in space, Milton agrees with Böhme that "heaven and hell are within man. "There is nothing that is nearer you," says Böhme, "than heaven and hell."³ If we will speak of our native country and tell of the resting-place of the souls, we need not cast our minds afar off; for far off and near is all one and the same thing with God; heaven and hell are everywhere all over in this world. Therefore the soul needeth not to go far; for at that place where the body dieth, there is heaven and hell.⁴ God did not create a peculiar hell and place of torment, on purpose to plague the creatures, because he is a God that willeth not evil. To turn away from God is to be in hell.⁵ Milton asserts that

"The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven." P.L.I 254

"within him Hell

He brings, and roundabout him, nor from Hell

One step no more than from himself can fly

By change of place." IV 19.

"then wilt thou not be loth

To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess

A Paradise within thee, happier far." XII 585.

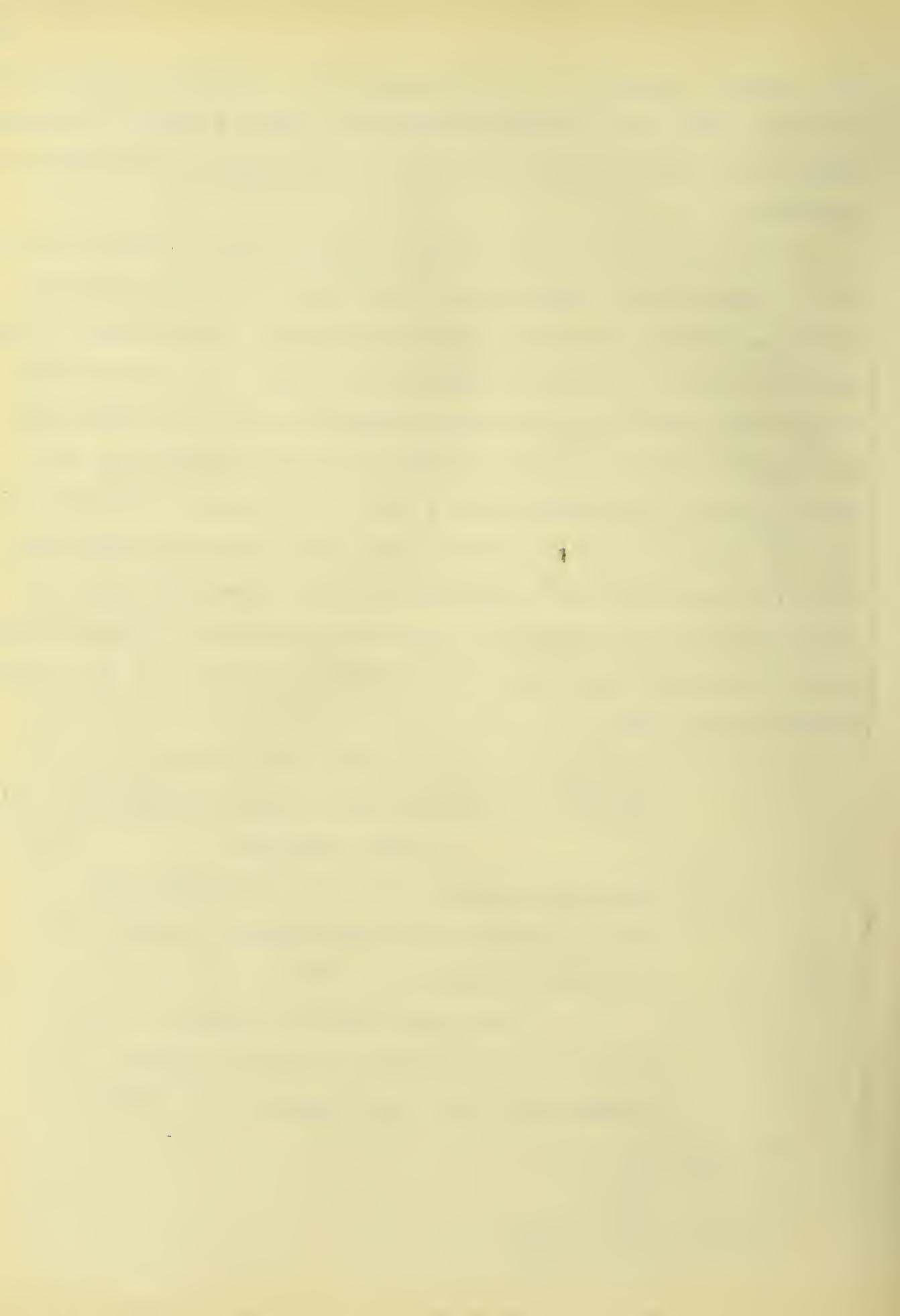
* Three Prin.ch.4.64.

² P.L. X 508-520.

³ Three Prin.ch.9.27.

⁴ Same ch.19.62-67.

⁵ Threefold Life ch.2.53, 54.



The name "Paradise Regained" has caused some difficulty to commentators. It has seemed odd to them "that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to the short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his Agony, Crucifixion, etc."* The reason suggested is that "Paradise regained by our Saviour's resisting the temptation of Satan might be a better contrast to Paradise lost by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seductive spirit."* If the poetic plan of the two poems in its entirety demanded, as some critics suggest, that the principle of evil which had been victorious in the first part should be overcome in the second, and this accomplished by the symbolic story of Christ's temptation, it would nevertheless not be in harmony with the Christian doctrine, which places all emphasis upon the sacrificial aspect of Christ's death. It is this very point of Christ's salvation of man by overcoming temptation for him that Böhme makes most impressive; the conquest of the principle of evil is through the temptation withstood. He calls the exposition of the new regeneration in Christ the "fairest gate (entrance of understanding) in the book" of the Three Principles.² A chapter is given here likewise to the Passion and Death of Christ, the only occurrence in Böhme's writings of such a discussion; in the other works the incarnation and birth of Christ and his temptation seem to be the important features. The "Signatura Rerum" alone emphasizes the fact of Christ's death. It is true that the statement is made there and elsewhere that Christ's resistance to temptation was not sufficient for the full regeneration of mankind;

* Masson: Poetical Works of Milton 286.

² Three Prin. ch.22.24.

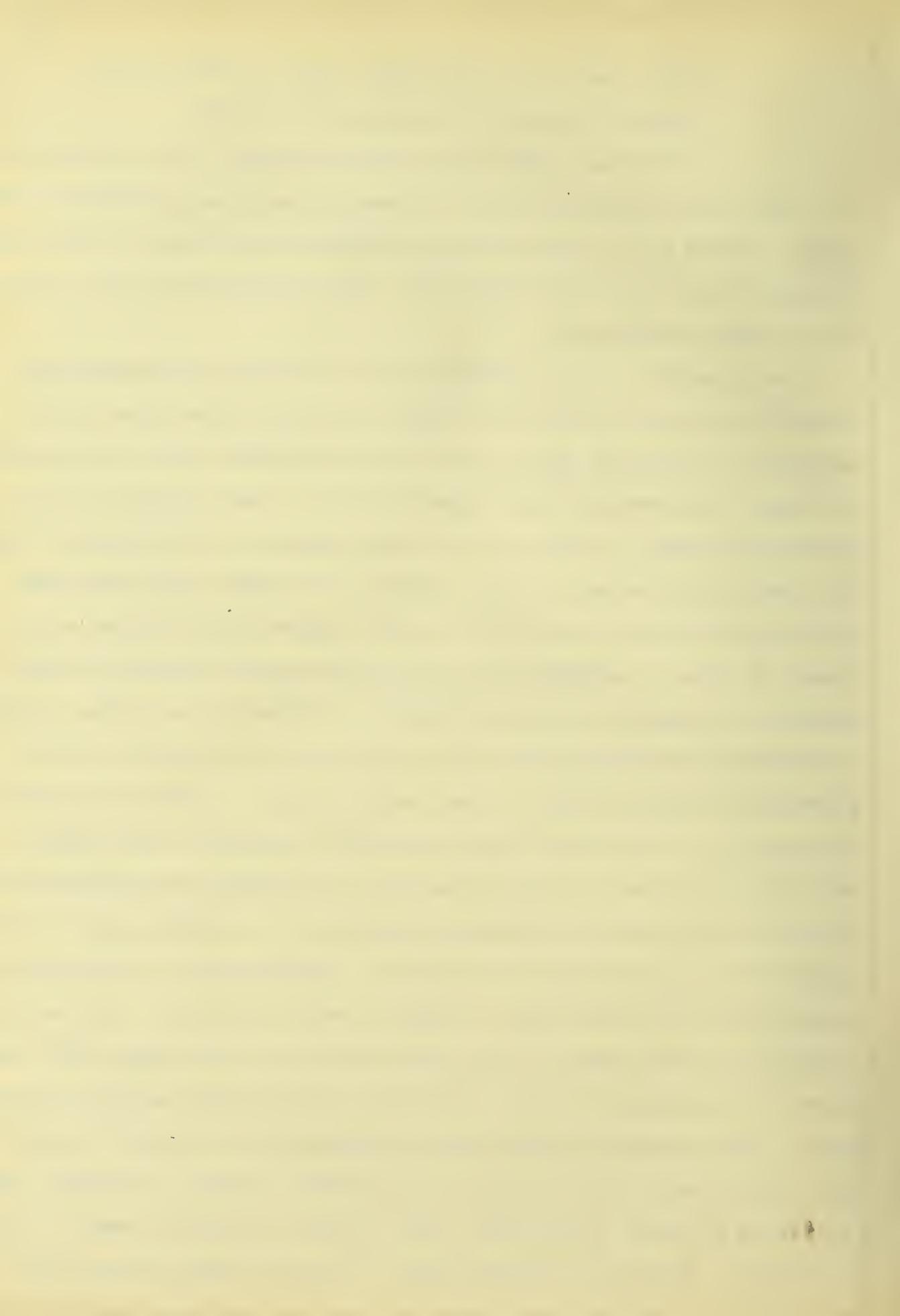
nevertheless Böhme makes it the determining fact. "That the Person of Christ, with his deeds and essence, might be rightly demonstrated to the reader, that he might apprehend it aright, I will therefore direct him to the temptation of Christ in the wilderness after his baptism." These are the two scenes represented in Paradise Regained. "Thou shouldest open thine eyes," Böhme continues, "and not speak like the spirit in Babel, which saith, We know not what his temptation was. Besides, they forbid him that hath eyes to see, none must search into it; if they do they are called enthusiasts and are cried out upon for novelists, such as broach new opinion and pretend to new lights, and for heretics. That temptation in the hard combat of Adam in the Garden of Eden, which Adam could not hold out in, here the worthy Champion went through with, and hath obtained victory, in his humanity in heaven, and over this world. Christ was set against the kingdom of the fierce wrath, to see whether this second Adam could stand, and set his imagination upon God and eat of the Word of the Lord. And there it was tried whether the soul would press into God or into the spirit of this world again. The earthly body must be hungry, that the soul might be rightly tempted. Christ rejected the earthly body and life and put his imagination into the Word of God, and then the soul in the kingdom of heaven was predominant, and the earthly body was as it were dead for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Then the devil lost his right in the soul; yet he said in himself, Thou hast a right in the earthly body." Therefore he tried the other two temptations, also without avail. For when "Christ had overcome in all the temptation, "then he had wholly overcome till the last victory in death."*

* Three Prin. ch. 22.78-100.

"Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both Worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save mankind." P.R. IV 632-35.

Thus Milton ends his story, at nearly the close of Paradise Regained. There is no other source than Böhme from which he could have obtained this idea of the temptation. The coincidence is too strong to be merely accidental.

The question of the incompleteness of the poem has also been treated by various critics, in spite of the fact that there are no grounds for supposing that it was left unfinished; Milton published it himself and resented any suggestion that it was inferior to its great predecessor. However, if Pradise Regained is considered from the viewpoint of being a direct sequel to Paradise Lost and consequently the conclusive and final poetic expression of Milton's interest in Böhme's ~~teaching~~ religious-philosophical teaching, this question represents no problem whatever. Böhme's plan of the universe included the restoration with the fall of man; the origin of evil presupposed within itself the way back to good. In God all forces are in harmony; in evil some force becomes too strong and the harmony is destroyed. But only in Satan does this too-strong force absolutely crowd out its natural restraining opposites. In man some good is still present and may be brought to control. Paradise is with Böhme not so much a place as a condition, a state of mind and heart. The second of Milton's poems dealing with this condition of mind and heart represents the process by which mankind is brought back to his original state. The process is again one of temptation, as in the case of the fall of man; Christ becomes the Redeemer because in him the inheritance of every human heart, the "virgin of wisdom" comes to its own again. The line of inner light, of direct communication with the



origin of life is re-established.

In giving to his second poem the name "Paradise Regained" Milton brings out this deeper meaning of the word paradise, the heaven within man. Thus the conception of paradise, as Milton develops it, is not of a place where one's dreams come true, but of a state, within the reach of humanity, in which man is truly the measure of all things of heaven and earth and all. What man brings to his knowledge of the world is fully equal to what his senses give him. We seem to feel the foreshadowing of a deep philosophical system in this conception of paradise alone. That in spite of Böhme's ardent piety and inwardness of religion, his interpretation of life was a departure from the orthodox belief in man as a creature essentially sinful whose existence here is but a preparation for real living hereafter, was felt by his contemporaries, who stubbornly opposed him whether they made any efforts really to understand his teachings or not.

The final similarity between *Paradise Regained* and Böhme's teachings is to be found in the delineation of the character of Christ. It has been objected that Milton represents Christ in this poem as thoroughly human; that he utterly loses sight of Christ's divine nature.* Böhme's Christ, the second Adam, was created as Adam had been before the fall, not a human being as we are human, but also the son of God only in so far as Adam was a son of God.² After the temptation Christ became entirely divine; then the virgin of divine wisdom (the divine element in man) espoused the soul of Christ in the Trinity.³ This idea of Christ as the second Adam is biblical, of course, but it was first definitely used as a principle of theological dogma by Shhleiermacher.

* Todd 323.

² Three Prin. ch.22.26-27.

³ Same ch.22.96.

The formulation of a "body of divinity" had been one of Milton's plans several years previous to his becoming secretary of the commonwealth. Part of the task assigned his pupils at this time had consisted in dictations from the works of various theologians that seemed suitable for this purpose.¹ The "Christian Doctrine" found among Milton's papers is the final outcome of this plan, in the work of his maturest, possibly his last years.² The result however seems notably different from the original plan, since this is based, not upon the theology of contemporary or ancient writers, but upon the Scriptures alone. It represents one of the very first attempts toward a strictly biblical theology and is the more remarkable in a period in which exegetical studies had almost disappeared from the universities and scholasticism sought only for the traditional authorities of dogma.³ Equally remarkable is the fact that this work treats not only of dogma but of ethics, which the theologians of the reformed church of the seventeenth century almost entirely neglected. Böhme's writings are likewise most valuable for their ethical teachings. In fact, one reason for their great popularity must have been, in addition to their emphasis of devotion and the inner religious life, their insistence upon practical rules for everyday Christian life, since "God will require an account of all our doings and how we have kept house with his works."⁴ Böhme's only authority is the Bible; he read the works of various men, he tells us, but received no help in determining our attitude toward the moral obligations of life. In the dedication to

¹ Stern II 398.

² Stern IV 147.

³ Weingarten 81.

⁴ Three Prin. Preface 6.

the "Christian Doctrine" Milton defends himself against the charge of heresy in interpreting the Scriptures for himself. "It is only to the individual faith of each that the Deity has opened the way of eternal salvation and he requires that he who would be saved should have a personal belief of his own," (C.D. dedication 2). The whole work seems in reality a defense of his attitude toward liberty and toleration and perhaps of the religious views ~~as~~ expressed in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, with which there is perfect agreement. Of the similarity in religious and philosophical views between Milton and Böhme we have already spoken. It is also to be noted that there is the same striking similarity in their utterances regarding the political realm, centering about the principle of freedom of conscience.

"A true judge," according to Böhme, "is God's steward in the kingdom of this world; and that it might not be needful that God should always pour forth his wrath upon the people, therefore he hath put the sword into their hands to protect and defend the righteous, and to punish the evil. But if he turneth tyrant, and doth nothing but devour the bread of his subjects, and only adorneth his state and dignity in pride, to the oppression of the needy, and will not hear the oppressed, then he is an insulting, tormenting prince and ruler in the kingdom of Antichrist."^{*} "Kings and princes shall be constrained to give an account of their subjects; how they have ruled and protected them; what kind of government they have used; why they have taken away the lives of many by tyranny; also why they have made war for their covetousness, and their pleasure's sake."² Milton may be think-

^{*} Three Prin. ch.21.43-44. See also ch.21.32-33.

² Forty Questions. no.30.74.

ing of Böhme's "true judge" when he says to Satan:

"Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
 Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains,
 Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
 When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
 Them whom he governs." P.L. VI 174-178.

Michael discourses with Adam concerning tyranny:

"yet know withal
 Since thy original lapse, true liberty
 Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being.
 Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed,
 Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart passions catch the government
 From Reason, and to servitude reduce
 Man, till then free. Therefore, since he permits
 Within himself unworthy powers to reign,
 Over free reason, God, in judgment just,
 Subjects him from without to violent lords
 Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
 His outward freedom. Tyranny must be,
 Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse." P.L. XII 82-96.

Milton was "not sedulous by nature to indite

Wars, hitherto the only argument
 Heroic deemed." P.L. IX 27.

"O shame to men! Devil with devil damned
 Firm concert hold; men only disagree
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heavenly grace, and, God proclaiming peace,

Yet live in hatred, enmity and strife
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy." P.L.IX 496-502

Böhme's opposition to war is even more outspoken. "When any fall to firing, killing with the sword, to undo people, ruin towns and countries, there is no Christ, but the anger of the Father, and it is the devil that bloweth the fire."^{*} "He that causeth and beginneth a war, he is the devil's officer;" but "he that defendeth himself against his enemy, upon necessity, without any other intent or desire, is not against God."²

The opposition to a state church arises from the belief in inspiration and dependence upon the inner light. "It became a custom," Böhme relates, "that every one was bound to come to the temple made of stones, and the Temple of God in Christ stood and stands very empty;--but when they saw the desolation in the disputation, they called councils, and made laws and canons which every one must observe upon pain of death. Thus the Temple of Christ was turned into temples made of stone, and out of the testimony of the Holy Ghost a worldly law was made. Then the Holy Ghost spake no more freely, but but he must speak according to their laws; if any came that was born of God and taught by the Holy Ghost, and was not conformable to their laws, he must be a heretic."³ A hired clergy is too apt to serve for mammon's sake, not from the impulse of the light within,

"(for) he who receives
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,
 No other doctrine needs, through granted true." P.R.IV 288

^{*} Three Prin. ch.26.16.

² Threefold Life ch.12.42-43.

³ Three Prin. ch.26.27.

This results in a degenerate, worldly church.

"Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of heaven
 To their own vile advantages shall turn
 Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written records pure,
 Though not but by the spirit understood." P.L.XII 508-14.

Böhme calls an uninspired pastor a thief. The constraint of certain set forms of worship is death to the spirit. Especially prayers must not be prescribed and uninspired, but spontaneous and free, as when Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden adore the God that made them.¹ Even sacraments are not indispensable.² The holy man holds no strife about religion; his church is in himself; he can dwell in the midst of sects and appear in their services without being bound or attached to any. He has but one knowledge and that is Christ in him.³ Milton speaks the last word on the state church when he says that external force may never be employed in the administration of the kingdom of Christ which is the church.⁴

From the same source with the opposition to a hireling clergy is the seemingly unrelated dislike of a learned or professional clergy. Both writers agree in the statement that the universities cannot make ministers of God.⁵ Learning is opposed to the inner light because inspiration can never be a product of reason. It is interesting to note

¹P.L.IV 724-735, V 153-208.

²C.D. I 417.

³Regeneration ch.6,7.151-163.

⁴C.D. I 303.

⁵Threefold Life ch.15.9-10, C.D. I 435.

how little Milton is influenced by the philosophy of his famous contemporary Descartes. If the Cartesian philosophy needs the "natural light" to prove the fundamental assumptions of its rationalism it is nevertheless a philosophy of reason; Milton considers reason the supreme faculty, yet he subordinates under the guidance of the inner light that most essential part of man, his spiritual life. Animals are not for Böhme and Milton the automata of the seventeenth century philosophers but creatures endowed with reason.*

The civic as well as religious virtue upon which both Milton and Böhme lay most stress is that of "brotherly love." The true worship of God consists chiefly in the exercise of good works;² this includes, with the observance of inner devotion and church rites, the duties of man to his neighbor. "Brotherly or Christian love is the strongest of all affections,"³ Milton asserts, and "friendship even takes precedence of all degrees of relationship."⁴ "All is God's, thou art a servant, and shouldst walk in love and humility towards God, and thy brother: for they brother's soul is a fellow-member with thy soul, they brother's joy in heaven with God is also thy joy, his wonders are also thy wonders."⁵ "In all selfhood or own propriety there is a false plant; one brother should be the sovereign cure and refreshment to another, and delight and content his mind with the insinuation of his love-will. There were enough in this world, if covetousness drew it not into a selfish propriety, and would bear good will to his brother as himself, and let his pride go, which is from the devil."⁶ This

*P.L. IX 558-9, Three Prin.ch. 16-29. ²C.D. II 1. Compare Böhme (Incarnation ch. 6.80): "God needs no service or ministry: we should serve and minister one to another and love one another and give thanks to the great God." ³C.D. II 105. ⁴C.D. II 106

⁵ Forty Quest. no. 12.39. ⁶Myst. Magn. ch. 24.21.

love should be extended as toleration to all who think differently in matters of religion.* Salvation is not open to the Christian merely, but to the heathen and the Turk as well. "If a Turk seek God with earnestness, though he walk in blindness, yet he is of the number of those that are children without understanding; and he reacheth to God with the children which do not yet know what they speak: for it lieth not in the knowing, but in the will."² "All have not known Christ. We ought to believe that the perfect sacrifice of Christ may be abundantly sufficient, even for those who have never heard the name of Christ and who believe only in God."³ Woman also comes in for a generous share of toleration. Milton and Böhme agree perfectly regarding her inferiority; both are equally generous to her.

The belief in predestination favors the idea of a state church; the elect should have the government in their hands, to be able to determine the lives of those who, in divine providence, are less favored. As we have seen, Milton's opposition to this belief began with the struggle of independency against presbyterianism. The "Christian Doctrine" expresses his final views: "there is no particular predestination or election but only in general, or in other words, the privilege belongs to all who heartily believe and continue in their belief."⁴ This is fully in accord with Böhme's views and may have been one of the very things to attract Milton to his writings. The book on the "Election of Grace", Böhme's strongest expression against predestination, was published in England in 1655.

*C.D. I 444, II 105.

²Threefold Life ch.6.21.

⁴ C.D. I 49.

³ C.D.I 321.

Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria* expresses a decided indebtedness to the works of the mystics, of Jacob Böhme in particular. Their writings, he asserts, "acted in no slight degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any single dogmatic system. They contributed to keep alive the heart in the head; gave me an indistinct, yet stirring and working presentiment, that all the products of the mere reflective faculty partook of death, and were as the rattling twigs and sprays in winter, into which a sap was yet to be propelled from some root to which I had not penetrated, if they were to afford my soul either food or shelter."^x

In this confession of Coleridge there are expressed some of the essential elements of romanticism, particularly the insistence upon the feelings rather than the reason as the chief faculty of the poet. We will not go amiss in assuming that the effect which Böhme had upon Milton was similar to his effect upon Coleridge and that for this reason Milton is to be considered the forerunner, if not the actual beginner, of the romantic movement in English literature.

While critics and early interpreters of Milton may not have been conscious of it, they seem nevertheless to have been convinced that some new element had appeared with him. In this way Dennis speaks of the greater religious poetry of Milton as being based upon the imagination and the enthusiastic passion. Passion here, as in general in the eighteenth century, means "exalted feeling." "Poetry," he says, seems to be a noble attempt of nature, by which it endeavours to exalt itself to its happy primitive state; and he who is entertain'd with an accomplish'd Poem, is for a time at least restor'd to Paradise."²

^x**Biographia Literaria* 262 (New York 1882)

²The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry 172.

Similarly Addison, though criticizing Milton partly according to classic standards by comparing him with Homer and Vergil, nevertheless glorifies him as the poet who has made the miraculous possible in the modern world.* If we understand by the spirit of romanticism the absolute liberation of the ego, the emphasis upon the inner world, the opposition to the supremacy of reason both in philosophy and poetry, especially as typified by the English neoclassical writers, the glorification of the feeling and the heart, the awakening of the historical feeling for a national past, if this is the spirit of romanticism, then there can be no question but that its germs were contained in Böhme's philosophy, and through him conveyed to Milton, and through him to those who subsequently followed his footsteps. There appears to be no other source, either contemporary or earlier, from which might have emanated this influence, destined as it was to produce most powerful results upon the English mind.

It would be both interesting and instructive to compare the effect which Böhme produced at the close of the eighteenth century upon the romantic school proper in Germany with the influence that he undoubtedly must have had upon the English mind and character, beginning with Milton and extending through the period of English romanticism. One of the chief characteristics of the thought of the German romantic school is mysticism, which deals mainly with the feelings. Strong features of this mystic thinking are its impulsive radicalism and its prophetic tone. Milton is decidedly radical in his views on domestic and political freedom and his utterances are prophetic as well. Fundamental to romanticism and particularly clearly expressed by Novalis, is the conception of poet and philosopher combined to a higher unity, a type of absolute spiritual and

* Hamelius: Kritik in der englischen Literatur 93.

intellectual leadership. Such a leader Milton became to his people in their struggles for freedom, just as later in Germany during the period of liberation poets like Körner and Schenkendorf entered the army. In fact, in Milton there is represented an entirely changed attitude toward the poet in England. From the mere entertainer, however welcome, of man's leisure hours, dependent upon the favor of princes, the poet rose to the high plane of instructor and uplifter of mankind, the friend and adviser of statesmen. Though his own ideals of a poet were very high, demanding even that the whole life of the poet should be a true and noble poem, it was the condition and spirit of his time rather than his own theory that forced Milton to play his serious and important role in the birth of freedom, as a friend of statesmen and an officer of the Commonwealth.

One of the strongest effects of mystic philosophy in Germany was the deepening of religious feeling in an attempt to make Christianity subjective. This is equally true of its effects in the English reformation of the seventeenth century and in the character of the poet whose life is so clearly symbolic of his time. Romanticism is primarily a fundamental mystical feeling. Nowhere does this show itself more plainly than in the lyric poetry of the German romantic school, in its longing, its melancholy, its deep love of nature and of music. It is a remarkable coincidence that melancholy, which plays such a role in music-loving Milton, should again play a great role among the early English romanticists. The spirit of melancholy, of longing for paradise, for the unattainable, is a distinctive tone in *Paradise Lost*. The beginnings of the historical feeling may also be sought in Milton. He speaks of Spenser as his forerunner. None of the preceding English poets had this historical sense; Shakspere does not speak of his forerunners.

From the middle ages down to the beginnings of the romantic school in Germany the classic inheritance of the epic spirit survived. To Milton as to other poets came the conscious desire to produce a national epic. But the seventeenth century was no time for the production of an epic. The powerful opposition of church and state in their conscious struggles for supremacy produced an atmosphere far removed from the simplicity and naive immediacy of feeling in which epic poetry arises. Milton's was the first and greatest of many such attempts in England, France and Germany, but the time of the true epic had passed. However, Milton was the poet who solved the epic problem as well as it could be solved, and that was along romantic lines. The interest in the childhood of the race is not classic. The belief that the primitive conditions of the race as depicted in the Greek and Roman heroes were better than existing conditions is a result of the romantic spirit. The discovery of new countries and new peoples had wrought mightily in the hearts of nations wearied with culture and worn with life; they wanted to find the original primitive human race, that from it they might gain a new lease on life. *Paradise Lost* is part of this romantic longing for the original, the real man, unspoiled by court and king. This desire to return to the ideal conditions of the early life of mankind is one of the fundamental causes of the Utopian literature prevalent at this time, and one of the secrets of its great popularity. *Paradise Lost* pictures Utopia, in a certain sense; not the ideal society to which man is progressing, it is true, but the ideal state from which he came and which he has the power to revive within himself if he but will. The chiliastic beliefs of Milton's time had kept the idea of paradise ever before men's minds, until regaining paradise was the

most natural thought in the world to them.

The Böhme-Renaissance in the German romantic school was not a new discovery of the Teutonic philosopher, for from the time of his death groups of admirers had cared for the spread of his writings and his teachings,^x until they came to Tieck and Novalis, to Schelling and Schopenhauer. In his entire thought content Böhme belongs to the romanticists. His whole conception of the world is imaginative; he compares^{the} creation of God with man's creative power of thought. His emphasis is upon the feelings, the inward, subjective viewpoint. No English translation has been able to reproduce the picturesqueness of his language and figures. He is utterly naive and childlike; many of his similes indeed are taken from his observation of children. His angels are like little children, "when they go in May to gather flowers; when they often meet together, then they talk and confer friendly, and pluck or gather many several sorts of flowers. Now when this is done, they carry those flowers in their hands, and begin a sportful dance, and sing for the joy of their heart rejoicing: Thus also do the angels in heaven."²

One of the most important aspects of the romantic movement lies in the attention given to the history and further development of the conception of genius. Though the belief in genius was transmitted from antiquity through the schools, the idea of a God-inspired man as a creator vying with God dates back only to the appearance of Böhme and his influence on Milton.³ How strongly Böhme emphasizes this cre-

^xSchneider 101. ²Aurora ch.12.83-85.

³That there was in Böhme a Titanic, Promethean element, an element that later culminated in Goethe's "Prometheus" was felt instinctively by some of the philosopher's orthodox opponents. Thus Croese, the author of a history of the Quakers, discussing the influence which Böhme had upon this sect, says of his teaching, that "it is truly no Christian theology, but a storming of heaven and a war of wild, inhuman and frightful giants against the gods," (Quaker-Historie 749).

ative activity of man shows in the following quotation: "Now every man is a creator of his works, powers and doings; that which he makes and frames out of his free-will, the same is received as a work of the manifested Word into each property's likeness... The free-will is the creator or maker, whereby the creature makes, forms and works."^{*} It is this insistence upon the creative activity of man as poet, that grows into the romantic conception of genius which has always brought liberating power into the classic dependence upon rules and traditions. To follow the history of the extensive discussion of the conception of genius in English literature from Dennis to Young would form an interesting chapter in the history of romanticism, but would take us too far afield. If, after all, the romantic spirit did not gain such impetus in England as it did during the storm and stress period in Germany, the reason lies no doubt with English conditions and character. It is a remarkable fact however that in the discussions of Dennis and Addison, and afterwards of Young, the chief champions of genius, Milton is repeatedly mentioned next to Shakspere as the type of modern genius. Yet Milton, in spite of his insistence upon the inner light, his belief in genius and inspiration, was hardly a naive poet in Schiller's sense. His angels are not the little children of Böhme. His representative of man in the state of original innocence is an Adam who preaches learnedly to his audience of one. Nevertheless Milton is as much a romanticist as a classicist; it is not his purpose to imitate nature, but to give form to his own feelings, to the visions afforded by the inner light. Closely related to the conception of genius is the romantic idea of nature as revealed in the poetry of primitive nations. The use of this new conception of genius led to the discovery that this genius must be national in

*Myst. Magn. ch.22.22-23.

character. And this again is best revealed in the oldest national poetry. Milton's theme, the original state of mankind, directly anticipates the later interest of Addison and the early romanticists in the primitive peoples and their songs and in the old English ballads. Utopia, paradise, the people, genius, romanticism--all of these conceptions are closely interwoven and are an integral part of both Böhme and Milton.

The living stream of thought and life which, since the time of the reformation, had poured from Germany into England and produced there the sixteenth century beginnings of the separatistic attempts at church reform, and had then during the seventeenth century, increased by the spring of Böhme's genius, worked so powerfully in the founding of sects and the development of a consciousness of the worth of freedom, turned back as a tide to Germany and in the aesthetic discussions of the Swiss critics centering around Milton and his genius, produced a Klopstock and the German "Messias." The same stream carried the discovery of enraptured genius, the embodiment of creative power, from Young to Herder, through whom it became a rushing cataract resounding ^{with} the praise of the creative power and the enthusiastic rapture of genius in the storm and stress period. Like an ocean it swept along, carrying the discovery of the folksong, of the people, of the human heart, into the German romantic school, where ripened and refined, the humanism of neoplatonism and of Böhme's teachings again start on their lifegiving mission into the world.

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The writer was born November 5, 1880, in Wellsboro, Pennsylvania. She was graduated from the Wellsboro High School 1899, from Cornell University with the A. B. degree 1903. Fifteen months beginning with the summer of 1903 she spent in Germany, mainly in Leipzig, studying German under private tutors. In the winter of 1905 she took the two-year normal course in Swedish Gymnastics at Posse Gymnasium, Boston. 1906-'9 she taught German and gymnastics in Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin. In 1909 she was given a scholarship at the University of Illinois, where she took the A. M. degree in 1910, presenting a thesis entitled "Gottfried Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie in Goethe's Intellectual Life." 1910-12 she was fellow in German at the University of Illinois, studying German literature under Prof. Julius Coebel, Prof. O. E. Lessing and Prof. N. C. Brooks, and philosophy under Prof. D. H. Bode.





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